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LETTERS IN CANADA 1955

The issue for April will be devoted primarily to *Letters in Canada*, the only complete critical survey of the year's work in Canadian letters. Poetry, fiction, history, social studies, biography, criticism, *belles lettres*, etc., are all authoritatively reviewed and assessed.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

F. H. ANDERSON, *The Platonic "Aesthetic" Reconsidered*
A. E. CARTER, *The Cult of Artificiality*
BOYD NEEL, *Mozart: A Bicentenary*
D. G. CREIGHTON, *Towards the Discovery of Canada*
GEORGE WHALLEY, *Preface to Lyrical Ballads: A Portent*

Fragments of a Great Confession

E. M. Butler

Wenn ich sterbe, wird die Zunge
Ausgeschnitten meiner Leiche;
Denn sie fürchten, redend käm' ich
Wieder aus dem Schattenreiche.

Stumm verfaulen wird der Tote
In der Gruft, und nie verraten
Werd' ich die an mir verübten
Lächerlichen Freveltaten.

As far as Heine's *Memoirs* are concerned this grisly prophecy has been fulfilled; for, a hundred years after his death, it must be presumed that nothing more will ever come to light than the enchanting opening fragment barbarously mutilated by his brother Max. The vicissitudes of the *Memoirs* during Heine's lifetime and after his death are part of the lamentable tale of his uncle Solomon's callous will and his cousin Carl's ruthlessness. The latter had the whip hand, and used it with so little compunction that he broke the wildly resisting heart of the poet, who burnt large portions of the *Memoirs* himself and obviously connived at the posthumous suppression of the rest. This was in truth to violate his corpse, and nothing can ever condone the outrage committed upon him or compensate for the irreparable loss to posterity. The extent of what he has suffered and we have missed by the disappearance of the crown of his life's work, the justification and the fulfilment of his whole existence, as Heine declared the *Memoirs* to be, remains a perennially vexed and burning question.

From the purely autobiographical angle there are compensations to be found. Heine's absolutely frank and uninhibited letters, written with no thought of publication, are pointers all along the way. Added to that, far more obviously than Goethe's, his works are all fragments of a great

confession, and recklessly self-relevatory throughout. This is why Strodtmann's biography, based so largely on Heine's works, is still the best full-length portrait of the poet that exists. It is true that a great many fresh facts have come to light since then. Houben has shown him from the outside by his exhaustive collection of "Conversations"; and in particular the late Friedrich Hirth by rescuing countless letters from oblivion and by restoring the mangled text of many more, by printing important letters to Heine in his first edition of the correspondence and by his invaluable commentaries to the second has done more than any other Heine scholar to close many gaps in our biographical knowledge. This is now in fairly good case. But even if future generations were to unearth every last detail of Heine's life, we should still depend largely on the confessional fragments which go to make up his published works; and in doing this, we should still deplore the void created by the loss of the *Memoirs*. For autobiographical comment (especially when made by poets) must always take pride of place over biographical facts; and no one who has attempted the formidable task of reproducing the substance of a single prose work of Heine's will deny that this master of concentration could have packed more psychological matter into those five or six hundred widely written sheets which Alfred Meissner saw and handled after the poet's death than the most knowledgeable and inspired of biographers could communicate in five or six volumes.

The extant fragment of the *Memoirs* taken in conjunction with *Das Buch Le Grand* bears this out. In an apparently desultory fashion, Heine gives the poetry and truth of his own childhood and boyhood, the very atmosphere of his home, the magic and the mystery of a poet's mind unfolding at a certain definite period in history. His biographers supply often at some length the inevitable historical background; but it is all there in the *Memoirs* and especially in *Das Buch Le Grand*: the revolutionary tremors in Germany, the French occupation as it affected his home-town and his own schooling; the Napoleonic conquests and the final defeat symbolized by the drummings of the indomitable Le Grand, as immortal in prose as his brothers, the two grenadiers, are immortal in verse; Napoleon himself, the World Soul and the soul of Heine's world, riding down the avenue in Düsseldorf and straight into the poet's heart. But it is always in vain that one attempts to summarize Heine: his strange obsession with the personality of a vagrant great-uncle who had travelled in the Near East, an obsession which amounted at times to the loss of his own identity; his adolescent love for the executioner's red-headed daughter, a figure stepping straight out of folk-lore into

romantic ballad-poetry; his first acquaintance with *Don Quixote* (recounted in the *Reisebilder*)—to enumerate these various fragmentary autobiographical confessions is merely to become aware once again of their unique and incommunicable quality.

Then the curtain falls. Max Heine's scissors came into play and we shall never know now what thoughts and feelings assailed young Harry when he was trying to learn business methods in Frankfort on the Main and was rewarded by his first sight of the ghetto, grim symbol of the mysterious curse which pursues the members of his race and which has pursued him too. We know rather more of his reaction to the soul-destroying, suffocating atmosphere generated by Hamburg, a seat of commerce where money ruled the roost and only money talked. Some telling pages in *Schnabelewopski*, flippant in their seeming but deadly in their effect, and the *De Profundis* entitled *1829* give a sufficiently vivid picture of the absolute incompatibility of temperament between a poet in the making and bankers ready-made. Worse still was the heartless luxuriance of Ottensen, his uncle Solomon's country seat, razed to the ground after 1870 by Cécile, Solomon's French daughter-in-law, but still exercising its baneful influence under the transparent pseudonym of *Affrontenburg*. In this poem we are confronted with the absolute, irrefragable truth of art. Looking back to those far-off days, on his death-bed Heine's heart knew its own bitterness again as he distilled drop by drop into indestructible verse all the slights, humiliations, heart-breaks, and affronts he had suffered from the Solomon Heines at Ottensen. Truth, like murder, will out. Detailed disclosures, chapter and verse, were doubtless given in the *Memoirs*; for why else was the first version burnt and the second spirited away? Biographers may and must bewail their loss; but the rock-like reality of *Affrontenburg* has wrested victory from defeat.

It is the same story with the "old curmudgeon Boreas" who figures in that poem. He has been variously judged by posterity and Heine's judgments varied too. Uncle and nephew were forever at odds, enacting the age-old conflict between father and son, complicated by the irascibility of the purse-proud millionaire and the overweening arrogance of the penniless poet. But there was mutual affection between them, a great deal of it on Heine's side, as many of the letters show, also some informal and charming verses in *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* and a moving tribute in *Das neue Israelitische Hospital zu Hamburg*. But hatred alternated with love; and when the blow of disinheritance fell, both can be seen contending in *Der Dichter Firdusi*, unrivalled in the

poignancy of the symbolical indictment proceeding from a mortally wounded heart. It spoke out again for the last time in the posthumous *Orpheisch*, and spoke so terribly in six short verses that even the *Memoirs* would have been an anticlimax, those *Memoirs* in which, before the betrayal, he had written of his uncle with so much love. All has gone up in flames, love and hatred, piety and revenge. But *Firdusi* and *Orpheisch* remain and *Affrontenburg* too. Panic-stricken about the revelations their poor relation had it in his power to make, the moneyed Heines made away with his *Memoirs*; they were completely indifferent about his poetry which they had always despised. Poetry has taken its revenge.

It was not only humiliations and slights which young Harry Heine was called upon to suffer at Ottensen; there were heart-breaks too. But it is extremely unlikely that he would have dealt with these in his autobiography. The reticence he had practised all his life on this subject he would have practised still; so that his love-lyrics and a few rare passages in his letters would probably have remained our only guide. Biographically speaking, the love-poems in *Das Buch der Lieder* with their mournful echoes in *Romanzero* are in the nature of a smoke-screen which it has taken much critical scholarship to transpierce even partially; but their emotional impact is so direct that pages of autobiographical outpourings could make the tragedy of his unrequited love for his two young cousins Amalie and Therese Heine no clearer, nebulous though their figures remain. Silence in prose as far as was humanly possible about the passions which one after another consumed him was Heine's golden rule, for which he compensated himself by vainglorious references to many and various ephemeral and largely imaginary affairs. This silence was not unbroken as far as Mathilde was concerned; something can be learnt from the letters of the torments and ecstasies she caused him in the early days of their association; and, when she became his wife, she figured in his letters home which tell the truth, but not the whole truth, of his devouring passion. That was not for home consumption; and Mathilde herself never knew it all, since she could not read his poems where his real feelings are to be found: stark, unadulterated, and terrible in *Tannhäuser*; disillusioned and defeated in *Unterwelt*; passionately protective, tragically tender, and divinely compassionate in *An die Engel*. All this went too deep for expression in prose; and the same applies to many other aspects of a life lived, as Alfred Meissner believed, mainly by love. We must go to *Atta Troll*, for instance, to realize how mysteriously and how mightily Amalie Heine, Mathilde Heine, and

Cécile Heine dominated his mind as he visualized them riding past in the phantasmagorical Wild Hunt as the goddess Diana, as the Celtic fairy Abunde, and (most alluring and most sinister of all) Herodias with the Baptist's head. His letters to the first have not survived; his letters to Mathilde might have been written to a child and his letters to Cécile, his cousin Carl Heine's wife, are restrained and enigmatic. Finally his impassioned and tremulous *billets-doux* to Camille Selden are hardly more than the alphabet from which the poems to her were composed; and nothing in his *Memoirs* could have transcended the truth of the dream-vision in which he saw her as a passion-flower at the head of his grave. For two reasons, therefore, the loss of Heine's autobiography can be borne with equanimity in this one respect: it was probably uninformative on the subject of the loves of his life and it could hardly have achieved the emotional truth and intensity of the poems.

His student years on the other hand are sadly in need of autobiographical comment. We should like to see much more of Bonn (although not necessarily of August Wilhelm Schlegel), and of Heine as an ardent and yet ironical *Burschenschaftler*. We could even bear to suffer more from the stultifying atmosphere of Göttingen combined with the law than we are called upon to do in the *Harzreise*; for boredom in retrospect always aroused in Heine a malicious and elf-like gaiety. *Briefe aus Berlin*, lively Heinesque journalism, do not tell us nearly enough about the author; and although the obituary of Ludwig Marcus written in 1844 brings the personalities and ideals of the Society for the Culture and Learning of the Jews into an autobiographical perspective, this only serves to remind us of a chasm to be crossed. Heine has not left us in ignorance of his ever-shifting attitude towards the people and religion of his race: of his hatred and love; of his deep compassion and his profound distaste, finally overwhelmed by awe and admiration and a sense of solidarity. But it is only from contemporary letters to Moses Moser and the poem *Almansor* that any insight can be gained into the turmoil and the conflict which preceded, accompanied, and followed his baptism into the Protestant Church. When things went very deep with Heine, silence was the order of the day; and it is a moot point whether or not he would have broken this silence in his *Memoirs*. The extent to which the conflict ravaged his nature can be gauged by the virulence of his attack on Count Platen who had branded him as a baptized Jew; but these two interlocked crises in his emotional life have not been and probably never would have been autobiographically illuminated by Heine.

The confessional nature of the *Reisebilder* is too obvious to need much comment. We can follow Heine with his aching heart, his impressionable nature, and his merry mind; with his political enthusiasms, his violent personal prejudices, and his deep religious perplexities, expressed now with imaginative vision and wit, now with blasphemous force, all along the road through the Harz, by the North Sea, into the fogs of London and down into sunny Italy. Much of course remained unsaid, but the main outline is clear. On the other hand, although he gave a lively account of his arrival in Paris in *Geständnisse*, his life in the French capital presents notable autobiographical gaps, very incompletely filled by the letters, by *Französische Zustände*, and by *Lutezia*. Voluble in the extreme in his correspondence, in his book on Börne, and in his occasional verse on the persecution he underwent at the hands of the German refugees in Paris, he wasted few words on the flattering reception he met with in the brilliant circles of the French intelligentsia, who were captivated, indeed dazzled, by his wit, his imagination, and his charm and welcomed him everywhere with open arms. We know that this was so from Heinrich Laube who witnessed it; we should never have guessed it from Heine, who was on the other hand no tyro at blowing his own trumpet. But this was in answer to derogatory attacks. With those who appreciated and understood him he was modesty incarnate; and his modesty about his conquest of French society stands out. The scarcity of his references to the Saint-Simonian sect was probably due to another cause. Though not of them, he was very much with them, greatly admired by them, and himself greatly influenced not to say inspired by their religious doctrines. This was possibly why he abstained from writing ironical reports of their sensational doings for the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, leaving that tempting task to others. He attended their salons and their sermons; he saw them in their fantastic symbolical costumes; and he laughed in private at these and at their frantic search for the Mystic Mother. Being Heine, he was well aware of the pretentious folly behind many of Enfantin's words and deeds; but he was also aware of a spiritual debt; and he dedicated *De l'Allemagne* to him in 1835, the French version of *Die romantische Schule*, and *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, where his indebtedness is most apparent and his acknowledgment of it most frank. But he allowed them no part in his later religious confessions, choosing Hegel rather than Enfantin as the prime cause of his pantheistic views, now roundly denounced as atheistical; and he turned and rent them in 1855 in the preface to the second edition of

De l'Allemagne, from which he withdrew the dedication. It would be an anachronism today, he declared; for, far from forming the advance guard for the emancipation of mankind, the former members were now for the most part self-seeking millionaires. This was aimed at Emile Pereire, the "Pontifex Maximus" of the railways, who had ignored Heine's repeated requests for a hundred shares. His loyalty to his former comrades having gone by the board, Heine would in all probability have embellished his *Memoirs* with a thoroughly Heinesque account of the history of the sect and the antics of Enfantin. Recounted by a disillusioned eye-witness who was the greatest wit of the age, the tale would have gained in the telling; but how much we shall never know.

It is hard to believe that Heine would not have given in retrospect a much fuller account of the Young German catastrophe than is to be found in his diatribe against Menzel. Its shattering effect on himself is evident in his letters; but his tongue was tied by the Edicts; also, oddly enough, he knew almost nothing of the works of the school of which he was the acknowledged leader and whose virtues he had extolled in *Die romantische Schule* on the very eve of its downfall. Perhaps he read them later; in which case what a subject was here to form a pendant to his brilliant, biased, and annihilating study of the German romantic movement! For history was repeating itself. Once again Heine would have taken up arms against a school of which he was the crown and glory because of its religious orientation. He had condemned the Roman Catholic tendency of the romantics; towards the end of his life he was even more out of sympathy with the Young German doctrines he himself had proclaimed. And whereas the poetical beauties of the romantic school had fascinated and appealed to him intimately, the Young German writers, except for himself and Ludolf Wienbarg, were prosaic to the core. Heine would have found himself confronted with the aridity of Karl Gutzkow, the lush sensuality of Heinrich Laube, and the doctrinaire fustian of Theodor Mundt. Personalities would also have become involved, since Gutzkow was a deadly enemy and Laube a trusted friend. In a word, the irony of the situation was such, that only Heine could have done justice to it, and probably Heine did.

His conflicting views about communism in which compassion and a sense of justice fought against rooted distaste and something like horror, and finally carried the day, were too eloquently expressed in *Lutezia*, in *Geständnisse*, and in the preface to *Lutèce* to make the lack of further autobiographical confessions a serious matter. His ardent liberalism is everywhere apparent in his writings; and his most deadly political

attacks, concentrated in *Zeitgedichte* and *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, found their targets unerringly in lyrical satire. Even Heine could hardly go further than this in kindling vituperation. Nor is it likely that he would have added anything about his religious "conversion" to the confessions in the preface to the second edition of *Salon II*, in the epilogue to *Romanzero*, and in *Geständnisse*. Here also he said what was probably his last word in prose on the subject of his terrible martyrdom. The poems in *Romanzero* and the *Lazarus*-cycle here and elsewhere complete that harrowing and yet inspiring tragedy of a spirit racked and rent but undefeated.

A good deal of autobiographical matter has survived the wreck of the *Memoirs*; but who can tell us what has been lost? The young apprentice in Frankfort; the young poet-lover in Hamburg, the *Burschenschaftler* in Bonn, the branded "baptized Jew"; the idol of French society, the sarcastic Saint-Simonian, the disillusioned Young German—these are some of the Heines whom we can only dimly see through the mists of speculation and through the eyes of others, but not through his own. There may have been more; but all of them now are gone beyond recall.

II

The *Memoirs* which Heine began to re-write in 1853 were lavishly peppered with scarifying personal attacks: caricatured portraits of his enemies, he gleefully informed Meissner, and intimidating silhouettes. And Camille Selden would find him day after day in September 1855 covering large sheets of paper with feverish speed. One day he flung down the pencil and broke out into the fierce laughter of satisfied revenge: "Aha!" he cried, "I've got them now and they cannot escape. Heine does not die like the next best man, and the tiger's claws will survive the tiger himself." Vain boast. None of those particular character-sketches has come down to posterity, a fact which caused Camille Selden heart-felt relief when the perfectly innocuous fragment appeared in 1884:

> Dieu merci! ce qui a survécu à Henri Heine, ce ne sont ni ses griffes, ni ses haines, ni même le souvenir des erreurs ou des fautes qu'il a pu commettre, mais l'immortelle beauté de son langage, la grâce incomparable des images qu'il évoque.

Paul Ginisty, one of Heine's most fervent admirers, echoed this thanksgiving; and perhaps we should rejoice with them that the last piece of Heine's prose to be published was of so captivating and endearing a

nature. But curiosity prompts the question: how many of Heine's victims escaped his claws altogether; and how many were merely rescued from a final mauling by the tiger returning to his kill? Would the uncouth Teutomaniac called Massmann, would the defunct Count Platen, Schlegel the literary coxcomb, Menzel the "informer," Börne the Nazarene democrat together with his antithesis Louis of Bavaria, to say nothing of the new Alexander, Frederick William IV, have come up for chastisement yet again? Would the Swabian school of poets with Gustav Pfizer at their head have made still another and positively their last scintillatingly silly appearance? Massmann for one, in spite of the mock-apologetic farewell Heine had taken of him in the epilogue to *Romanzero*, was by no means out of the wood. Almost the first of Heine's butts, he was also among the last, being held up to posthumous ridicule in *Die Menge tut es*. Platen had suffered another slap in the face in *Plateniden* (*Romanzero*), a comparatively mild rebuke; and Heine had burnt his fingers so badly over Börne that he would probably have let him be. Meanwhile more recent and therefore more exacerbating enemies were clamouring for attention. Emil Pereire might have lived to rue the day when he had humiliated Heinrich Heine. Giacomo Meyerbeer had already paid dearly for far more venial sins in *Lutezia*, and in the cascade of mockery greeting *The Prophet* in *Beeren-Meyer, Meyer-Beer!* Most satirists would have been more than satisfied with that display of fire-works; but Heine was definitely of the opinion that he had hardly begun with the Maestro; and as some posthumous poems show he had certainly not finished with him. Two other victims who had already felt the tiger's claws were waiting in the wings for more. Jakob Venedey, another Teutomaniac with more patriotism than sense, had been crowned by Heine as the future Emperor of Germany in a wicked but witty satire *Kobes I*. He had retorted with such venom that reprisals seemed inevitable; and Heine contemplated something of the sort, but came regretfully to the conclusion that Venedey was hardly worth powder and shot. He sat for the portrait of several braying asses in the posthumous poems, and might or might not have figured in the *Memoirs*. Joseph Dessauer certainly would. This wealthy musician was said to have boasted of the favours of George Sand; whereupon Heine flayed him alive in *Lutezia*; and a posthumous poem called *The Male Bug* is an earnest of the kind of treatment that might have been in store.

And Campe? Would the poet's publisher, his life-long, close-fisted enemy-friend, the bane of his whole existence, have reaped where he had sown? Their association, based on mutual interdependence,

strengthened by mutual attachment, darkened by mutual hostility and embittered by mutual recriminations, was like one of those unhappy marriages which are only held together by the children it has produced: in this case Heine's poetical works, which in spite of all he could not bring himself to entrust to anyone else, and which Campe for his part could not bear to lose because of the prestige and profit they brought. All this can be seen in the correspondence. The autobiography could have made it no clearer; and the leech sucking Heine's life's blood away in a pothumous *Lazarus*-poem closed the account between publisher and poet. In the same way, after reading Heine's painful, sometimes shaming, sometimes heart-piercing letters during the fearful feud with Carl, we find the millionaire and all his kith and kin imprisoned in five posthumous poems, so terrible, so powerful, so piteous, and so incriminating, that one could wish one's worst enemy no direr fate. Perhaps too Camille Selden and Ginisty were right; the publication of those "caricatured portraits and intimidating silhouettes" might have been injurious to the writer's reputation. But it was not to safeguard *Heine's* name that they were filched from posterity.

III

It is another matter altogether when one contemplates the book as a whole which Heine had conceived in 1837 and which was nearly three parts written in 1840, partly destroyed in 1847, and resumed in 1853:

> Das ist ein Buch, ein grosses, wichtiges, das ganze europäische Leben nebst den dazugehörigen wirklichen und symbolischen Gestalten umfassendes Buch, es ist das Resultat aller meiner wandrenden Studien in allen Landen und Verhältnissen . . . ein grosses Buch, vielleicht mehre Bände, welche den Schluss der Gesammtausgabe bilden sollten und die ganze Zeitgeschichte, die ich in ihren grössten Momenten mitgelebt, unfasse[n], sammt den markantesten Personen meiner Zeit, ganz Europa, das ganze moderne Leben, deutsche Zustände bis zur Juliusrevoluzion, die Resultate meines Auffenthalts im Foyer der politischen und socialen Revoluzion, das Resultat meiner kostspieligsten und schmerzlichsten Studien, das Buch das man ganz eigens von mir erwartet.

Nothing can ever compensate posterity for the loss of that book, even though *Französische Zustände* and *Lutezia* with their prefaces give some inkling of its nature. Yet one figure at least amongst those playing a symbolical as well as an actual part on the stage of the world has come down to us transfigured by the poet. For it is not only in *Die Grenadiere* and not only in *Das Buch Le Grand* that Heine immortalized and in part created the Napoleonic legend. There is hardly a prose work

from *Le Grand* to *Lutezia* which does not add some striking symbol, some mythological parallel, some revealing historical perspective, some spontaneous piece of folk-lore to the epic of the great colossus bestriding the age; and not until Napoleon's ashes were finally entombed in Les Invalides did Heine's running commentary cease, ranging from hero-worship at its most intense through retrospective disillusionment to a last magnificent and mournful salute to the vanquished hero of his times. It is more than possible that Heine would have amplified all this in his *Memoirs*, penetrating still further into the mythological and symbolical aspects of the fateful Napoleonic era.

Another portent, symbolized in Baron James Rothschild, would certainly have received fuller treatment in his *Memoirs* than is to be found in the book on Börne and *Lutezia*, in which Heine was beginning to disengage this representative figure from the background of his times, as the prophet of the emergent deity, the god of gold. Heine knew him personally and owed him many favours; but he viewed with irony crossed by apprehension and instinctive distrust a phenomenon which as he clearly saw outweighed in significance and in power all the other phenomena of his day. Vested in the great millionaires, this power which was conditioning the future of mankind through the medium of industry was anathema to Heine, and his recoil dictated more than one of those prophetic passages scattered through his works; for his sense of the future, based on a penetrating and imaginative contemplation of the present and the past, was that of a visionary. He was often at fault about contemporary events, being a poet rather than a politician, but he foresaw many things that were to come. This is where the loss of the *Memoirs* makes itself most keenly felt.

Undoubtedly it is to be regretted that many of his personal friends were deprived of those heart-warming tributes at which he excelled: Karl Immermann, that "eagle in our German Lands"; Varnhagen and Rahel von Ense, staunchest of patrons, most understanding of Egerias; Baron Cotta of the *Augsburg Gazette*; Prince Pückler Muskau, "one of the last knights of the old aristocracy of birth"; Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle, "the Messiah of our century"; Théophile Gautier, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, and Gérard de Nerval—Heine's sorrowful, gentle, and loving lines about this unhappy poet in the preface to *Poèmes et Légendes* are only a foretaste of what he could have done. The same applies to his sensitive and often exquisite notes and letters to Friederike Robert, to Christine Belgiojoso, to Caroline Jaubert, to George Sand, to Betty Rothschild, to Friederike Friedland, and to Lucy Duff Gordon.

They would all have figured in his *Memoirs* and would have graced them. For this defamer of kings, this scourge of the mighty—and of the humble too if they were knaves or fools or even harmless idiots, this man whose tongue would scorch without scruple those who had wronged him and blast the reputation of anyone assailing his own, always treated the women he knew and liked with the utmost gentleness, consideration, delicacy, and tact; and for the men who were fortunate enough to remain his friends, the generosity of his judgments knew no bounds.

But it is not by his portraits and character-sketches that Heine's *Memoirs* would finally have been judged. It would have been by those impassioned historical utterances, vibrant with the wrath of the Hebrew prophets of old in which the prefaces to *Kahldorf über den Adel*, to *Französische Zustände*, to *Lutèce*, and above all the conclusion to *Salon II* sound the tocsin of alarm. The loss of the book more than half completed in 1840 is the loss which we deplore. It was the work by which he himself wished to be judged by posterity, and posterity is without the means to judge. It was to have been the record of the times he had lived through, mirrored in his foreboding mind and in the features and gestures of its great representatives. It was to have depicted Heine's world with the conflicts and the crises which have given birth to life and the world as we know it today, the swaddling-clothes of the coming generations, as he himself phrased it. That book, in part committed to the flames by his own hands, has been committed to oblivion since; and the voice of a prophet crying in the wilderness of his own age, has been silenced for all time.

Coleridge and Wordsworth and "the Supernatural"

Kathleen Coburn

In a well-known passage in the *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge describes the two sorts of poems that were written for the *Lyrical Ballads*.

> In one, the incidents and agents were to be, in part at least, supernatural; and the excellence arrived at was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions, as would naturally accompany such situations supposing them real. And real in this sense they have been to every human being, who, from whatever source of delusion, has at any time believed himself under supernatural agency. For the second class, subjects were to be chosen from ordinary life, the characters and incidents were to be such as will be found in every village and its vicinity, where there is a meditative and feeling mind to seek after them, or notice them. It was agreed—that my endeavours should be directed to persons and characters supernatural or at least romantic: yet so to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment that constitutes poetic faith. Mr. Wordsworth on the other hand was to propose to himself as his object, to give the charm of novelty to things of every day, and to excite a feeling analogous to the supernatural, by awakening the mind's attention from the lethargy of custom and directing it to the loveliness and wonders of the world before us.

The passage has been frequently mis-read to mean that for the *Lyrical Ballads* Coleridge intended to write supernatural poems, Wordsworth natural ones, a mis-reading that has led to, and received support from some interpretations of *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*; it has also been fostered by the inevitable juxtaposition of Wordsworth and Coleridge and by certain pronouncements by Wordsworth.

Yet Coleridge in this very condensed statement, which is admittedly sharper and more precise in regard to his own aims than to Wordsworth's, says that his "incidents and agents" only were to be supernatural, that is to say they were to be a medium, or focus, or symbol, for the expression of "our inward nature." He was to look for material in the byways of the mind, and, from such states of delusion as, for

example, daemonic possession, was to convey, dramatically, truth to interest the affections of the reader. In other words he was to deal with an aspect of reality none the less real than the characters or incidents to be found in every village that were Wordsworth's subject-matter. But instead of making the familiar new, and arousing "a feeling analogous to the supernatural," Coleridge was to take the fantastic and frightening stuff of the peripheries of the rational, and for these "shadows of imagination" to find concrete expression. The crude use of the supernatural was always recognized and abhorred by Coleridge, as his early reviews of Monk Lewis and Mrs. Radcliffe show. The *Biographia* passage is an endeavour to make clear his interest in its psychological and imaginative possibilities and to describe his attempt in poetry to realize the familiar in the strange. Wordsworth, on the other hand, was to call forth the appreciation of the unfamiliar in the commonplace, to reach out to the mystery behind the ordinary. The implication of the passage is perhaps the opposite of the common one.

Wordsworth, we know from *The Prelude*, had had, early in his boyhood in the Lakes, frightening experiences of "unknown modes of being":

> But huge and mighty forms, that do not live
> Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
> By day, and were a trouble
> To my dreams.

Coleridge says his mind was "early habituated to the Vast," and he moved in it as in his element. The phantoms that disturbed him, he knew young, were part of his own "mode of being." At least some of the difference in attitude is manifested in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Peter Bell*.

The Ancient Mariner was originally to have been a joint effort, to pay the expenses of a walking tour into Devonshire, but, as Wordsworth has told, he had had time only to make a few suggestions, such as the shooting of the Albatross and the working of the ship by the bodies of the dead men, when Coleridge's pen, imagination, and swift-flowing rhythms ran away with the poem. It was finished in March 1798. In the summer of that year Wordsworth wrote *Peter Bell*, though he did not put it, as he originally intended, into the *Lyrical Ballads* that September, nor yet into the second edition in September 1800. It was not published until 1819. Why?

Clearly it was written as a sort of answer to *The Ancient Mariner*, and until he had been separated from Coleridge for about seven years, Wordsworth was not able to persuade himself that it was a satisfactory

answer. Time has upheld his doubts. "*The Ancient Mariner* has grave defects," he wrote, more than a shade pompously, in a note to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*. (It is true that *The Ancient Mariner* of 1800 was not pruned of all the imperfections and affectations that have disappeared in the final version as we read it today, but its defects were not so grave as all that, though the Wordsworths always blamed it for the slow sale of the *Lyrical Ballads*.) And in the dedication of *Peter Bell* to Southey with a perverse and pointed tribute to Southey's handling of the supernatural, Wordsworth said that *Peter Bell* was "composed under a belief that the *Imagination not only does not require for its exercise the intervention of supernatural agency*, but that though such agency be excluded, the faculty may be called forth as imperiously and for kindred results of pleasure by incidents within the compass of poetic probability, in the humblest departments of daily life." Wordsworth's remarks seem not only to hint at some disapproval of Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural, a conjecture borne out by an examination of *Peter Bell*, but to suggest that the phrase "supernatural agency" held a different meaning for him.

The tedious versified prologue of *Peter Bell* is better left alone. The matter of the poem proper is the story of how Peter Bell, a wandering hawker of pots and pans, finds an ass one moonlight night, in a field, and tries to steal it. The ass refuses to move though Peter beats him till the blood comes, and the ass falls down. The ass then turns "a shining hazel eye" on Peter, and this eye together with the awesomeness of the elements makes him begin to doubt himself until he suffers from visual torments, including the sight of the obtruding head of the ass's late master, sticking out of the moonlit stream. Peter falls in a trance and when he regains consciousness, not certain that he is not himself a blessed ghost, he drags the body of the ass's dead master to shore. With good relations now established between him and the ass, who has been loyally grieving and waiting for his master, the ass carries Peter back to the dead man's house. The sorrow of the widow and children moves Peter's hard heart (this hardness being somehow proved by the fact that he had had twelve wives) to a pity new to it, and the gentle patience of the faithful ass rouses him to love for the creature.

> And Peter Bell, who, till that night,
> Had been the wildest of his clan,
> Forsook his crimes, renounced his folly
> And after ten months melancholy,
> Became a good and honest man.

There have always been jokes at *Peter Bell*'s expense, even before

publication day in April 1819. Reynolds gave his parody a boasting egotistical preface which announced his aim as being to "deduce moral thunder from buttercups." But the jest is an indication rather of how Wordsworth's reputation had waned in some circles by 1819, than of the merits or demerits of the poem. Coleridge called it a "most wonderful as well as admirable poem," and he refers particularly to the moment when Peter, on the ass's back, in a strange confused state of fear and guilt and sorrow, sees an unpleasant apparition of his youthful self.

The parallels to *The Ancient Mariner* are striking throughout, though the resemblances are faint. We have a lone Potter, instead of a lone Mariner—Peter is also a solitary wanderer figure—and the ass, not the albatross, a creature of earth, not air, is the injured victim. There is the same wanton attack on innocence. Helped by the eerie light, and a frightening sense of disturbance in the elements, as in *The Ancient Mariner*, the Satanic instrument of this piece also falls in a trance; he too suffers the sense of being pursued, his eyes ache, he feels remorse, repents, learns to love his fellow-creatures, and is made fit for human society. But in *Peter Bell* there are no spirits working the ship on the bodies of the dead men, no Polar Spirit, no Life-in-Death or Death-in-Life playing at dice, no catastrophic event like the ship going down like lead. In *Peter Bell* everything is literal and factual.

> A primrose by the river's brim
> A yellow primrose was to him
> And it was nothing more.

We know the colour of the eye that transfixes him—hazel—an ass's eye. The moonlight is real moonlight that makes everything just as bright as day; and it shines not on the mysterious ocean but on "the little rapid river Swale." We are very much on *terra firma* the whole time. There is silence and stillness—but for the ass's bray; and the factualness can become amusing and satisfying:

> All, all is silent—rocks and woods,
> All still and silent far and near!
> Only the Ass, with motion dull,
> Upon the pivot of his skull
> Turns round his long left ear.

Without going into any further discussion of *Peter Bell* as a poem, I think we can say that it is an attempt at what Wordsworth took to be the same theme as *The Ancient Mariner*: a crime against nature, punished by the laws of the universe, with restoration and reformation of a Methodistical sort following on repentance, and all done "without supernatural agency," as he said.

Now perhaps Wordsworth was right, roughly at any rate, about the story *The Ancient Mariner* was meant to tell. But whatever the interpretations on the several levels of imaginative experience, it is crystal clear what is the nature of the difference between *The Ancient Mariner* and Wordsworth's poem. It is clear that however much Wordsworth *explains* and *describes* the fear and guilt elements in his Potter's behaviour, and he does so at length, with some "anxiety of explanation," his is a poem of behaviour—acts—events on the little rapid river Swale; Coleridge's is, without explanation, by direct emotional evocation, a poem of the inner life. Supernatural agencies had they occurred in Wordsworth's poem would have had to come from a *deus ex machina*, concrete, visible, specific as the yellow primrose, Southeyan in fact. For Coleridge, nothing is more strange, more mysterious than the mind itself, especially the frightened, or troubled, or guilty mind, with all the spectres that haunt the margins of its semi-conscious and unconscious operations; from its projection come all the daemons, spirits, and phantoms the most "supernatural or at least romantic" poem requires.

And what are these "supernatural" agencies in *The Ancient Mariner* after all? The Albatross? An innocent creature, and possibly a symbol of man's primitive beliefs, a guardian spirit connected with the life-principle, possibly imagination itself; the wanton killing of it ruined the Mariner's relation to the crew, and his relation to the whole creation including himself and his self-command. And the Spirit who worked the ship? The ship seemed to the Mariner to be carried on by a mysterious force, benign, angelic, yet the revenges of the Polar Spirit were still to be exacted from one who had defied the laws of the elements. The ship went down like lead, suddenly, without warning, after the manner of catastrophes, and again after the manner of catastrophes involved the innocent or the less guilty (though as has been noted, the Mariner's shipmates became a party to his crime). As to Death-in-Life and her partner Life-in-Death, these projections of the Mariner's mind most human beings have known as house guests, and Coleridge knew them intimately.

In other words, if Wordsworth thought the supernatural in *The Ancient Mariner* the grave defect, was he not failing to penetrate Coleridge's use of it? It is not here so much an external agency, a manipulation of the human action, as an integral part of a story which, whether we read it large or small, treats of mental states and spiritual phenomena, amalgamated uncannily with a vivid physical world. And if we read *The Ancient Mariner* a thousand times now for the once we read *Peter Bell*, it is because the former comes deeply out of a troubled mind

and the other out of a theory of the supernatural. The one is a poem of imagination, the other, at best, a thing of "fixities and definites," a poem of the fancy. In poems like *Peter Bell*, Wordsworth has his eye on the object, is the spectator *ab extra*, as Coleridge described him. Coleridge, though he has a vivid sense of the object, knows that self-projection is a fact. About this facet of their temperamental and literary differences, something further can be learned from even a cursory look at *The White Doe* and *Christabel*.

The poems have much in common in their material, though *The White Doe* is based on a current fable about the Norton family and Bolton Priory and *Christabel* on a conglomeration of sources—no central fable behind it has ever been found. *The White Doe* begins under an ancient tower, in a hush, in which a mysterious solitary animal, a female deer, appears. She is a dream-like creature, not quite real in her extreme innocence, and the question is asked in Canto I, with a broad hint of metempsychosis, "But is she truly what she seems?" There are references to spirits inhabiting various shapes, there is a thick dark wood, and in it the solitary daughter of a "fierce Esquire," who reminds us of Sir Leoline. The daughter is compared to "the last leaf on a blasted tree" (not red and not dancing, but still the last leaf) and like Christabel, she is innocence wronged, wronged by mysterious fateful powers. Like Christabel in conflict with her father, "she would not, could not disobey. But her Faith leaned another way." She is soothed, like Christabel, by memories of the guardianship and training of her mother, "that blessed saint," and to her she also prays. Like Christabel she has enforced upon her a rôle of resignation; an old man, who with her father "had been friends in youth," a rival hunter although in this case still a friend, comes to her with bad news of the losses to her family in the wars. At the close the lady dies (for this there is no parallel in *Christabel*) but dies only after a *Christabel*-stocked fourth Canto that begins with night, moonlight, a castle clock and tower, greyhounds in kennels, and the distressed lady, full of premonitions of family doom, in the wooded park. Reference is here made only to the broadest parallels; a complete list of details would be a long one. It would include echoes of the rhymes and assonances of *Christabel* as well as of the sense and the diction. For example, in the passage in Canto I already referred to we read, "Bright was the Creature, as in dreams / The Boy had seen her, yea more bright;/ But is she truly what she seems?/. . . . Nor to the Child's enquiring mind/ Is such perplexity confined"—surely an echo of Coleridge's "With such perplexity of mind/ As dreams too lively leave behind."

But the White Doe which somehow assumes the characteristics of the lady, is immortal and still to be seen haunting Bolton Priory, a supernatural sign and symbol.

> Thou, thou art not a Child of Time,
> But daughter of Eternal Prime.

Here we have a traditional tale used to carry a compliment to an old family, a pleasing story about a local landmark, and a suggestion that immortality may take various forms.

We think of both poems as of the Gothic romance genre, based on the commonplace Gothic materials. In *The White Doe* the traditional tale is expounded at some length. The tale is the important thing, although the theme is not unrelated to Wordsworth's personal concerns when he wrote it, after the recent death of two of his children within six months of each other, and earlier, the death of his brother John; the prefatory lines to Mary Wordsworth suggest its consolatory importance to her. In *Christabel* the traditional fables on which the narrative parts are based have been all but lost sight of. Mr. Nethercot in *The Road to Tryermaine* has traced various conscious and unconscious memories of literary materials in the poem, but he has not found any one whole story on which, as in the case of the *Doe*, the poem depends. Probably there was none, and this was one reason why Wordsworth said he thought Coleridge did not know how it was to proceed. In one of the Notebooks of 1800, there is a reference, connected with Langdale, to the fable of the offending matin—or so I think the very faint passage reads: "Bell thro' a mist in Langdale vale—the [? fable/toll] of the [? offending/self-ending] Matin what a simile for a melancholy [Poem?]." (The last word is invisible and the alternative readings suggest the faintness of the whole pencilled note.) And there is the well-known passage about a kind-hearted man having to make a refusal and doing it harshly, with a reminder to use this in *Christabel*. There is also an indication that Derwent, born in September 1800, was at first to have been given the name of the Bard, Bracy. There is one other important reference—in a late Notebook (N 30) of 1823/24—when Coleridge says he feels so well that day, his birthday, having bathed in the sea and "felt the benefit," that "Were I free to do so I feel as if I could compose the third part of *Christabel*, or the song of her desolation." The brief unpublished note is the only remark from him on the continuation of the poem, and it is therefore of interest.

This fragment of a poem, tantalizingly unsatisfactory in so many ways, has a power over us which *The White Doe* has never had because *Christabel*, for all its Gothic-looking materials, is not an incomplete

Gothic romance, but rather makes use of the medium to project an inner experience. Christabel, whatever the exact nature of her torments (and the vagueness is part of the captivating quality of the poem which allows scope for the reader's own projections), is clearly suffering from fright, motherlessness, and loneliness occasioned by the absence of her lover and by her fears for him, and, in the action of the poem, by the advent of a stranger who ostracizes her father and gains his support against her. Christabel is innocent and good and cannot imagine what the mysterious powers are that frighten her and take hold of her life, and she does not know how to behave in the face of them. She is confused and left derelict; and the poem ends with a not clearly relevant reference to a friendship broken in early youth, and with the sense of her utter loneliness and misery. Certainly Part III would have been "the song of her desolation"—a song, a lyric, a dejection ode. But Coleridge could not write it, for the desolation and dejection were his own, in 1800 and from then on, acute. His lover was indeed in a special sense "far away," in fact inaccessible; his father, not mother, was dead, and in his relations with his mother there was undoubtedly a sense of ostracism and guilt—she understood her other sons much better. By the forces that carried him along—personal relations, opium, ill health—he too was confused, and often frustrated, unable to act. In 1800, while Part II was germinating, Charles Lloyd settled in Grasmere, painful reminder of "friends in Youth" and felt by Coleridge as a disruptive factor in his relations with the Wordsworths at this time. "[Wordsworth] settled in the North & I determined to leave all my friends & follow him—Soon after came Lloyd & settled at Ambleside—a thick acquaintance commenced between him & the W—so that the fear of *his* coming in & receiving an unpleasant agitation occasioned such Looks & Flurry & anxiety that I should be gone from Grasmere, as gave me many a heartache." (A note of November 3, 1810, in Notebook M in Victoria College Library.) Coleridge had hurt Poole in leaving Stowey, yet now the relation with the Wordsworths was not altogether comfortable. Mrs. Coleridge hated the north and Coleridge seems to have avoided Greta Hall, except his study at night. It was a time, and there were to be many more such, of desolation of spirit. Worst of all, he had put himself side by side in daily contrast with Wordsworth, whose increasing happiness and productivity were a constant reprimand. "The poet is dead in me," he wrote to Godwin. *Christabel* is a poem about Death-in-Life, and Coleridge could not finish it because it was too closely a representation of his own experience; that experience was screened through a female figure but this figure was none the less, perhaps even more, significantly

one side of his own nature. He could not realize a conclusion, for all the preparation in the poem led only to the one ultimate conclusion, Death. Nothing less would complete the poem. The Ancient Mariner, after all, wandered forever, compulsively talking to entranced listeners. Christabel is left helpless, speechless, rejected, in a universe gone completely awry.

One might add a postscript here on the completion that Coleridge was said by Dr. Gillman to have outlined. Most critics have dismissed it, as something made up to please a friend, or perhaps half concocted by Gillman himself. According to him, the poem was to continue with Bard Bracy's fruitless journey in search of Geraldine's home, Geraldine continuing to deepen the cleavage between Sir Leoline and Christabel and finally taking the shape of Christabel's lover and pursuing her unpleasantly. In the end, however, the real lover returning, Geraldine was to vanish, the castle bell to toll, the voice of Christabel's mother to approve, and all was to be explained to reconcile the father and permit everyone to live happily ever after.

Now I suggest that though Coleridge did not write this continuation of the poem, it is a sort of fantasy-of-an-ending not incompatible with the foregoing interpretation. Geraldine's pursuit of Christabel is to be found in various forms in several of his accounts of his dreams, in which one gathers he was frequently pursued by unpleasing female figures, who, pale and wraith-like, had the trick of altering their shapes, sometimes to impersonate those he loved.

In November 1800, when he was still struggling with the poem, he recorded "a most frightful Dream of a Woman whose features were blended with darkness catching hold of my right eye & attempting to pull it out—I caught hold of her arm fast—a horrid feel." And later, in October 1803, after the *Pains of Sleep* had been written, pursuing his interest in dreams he described another, illustrative of the absence of surprise in sleep. He dreamed first that he was in the cloister at Christ's Hospital, spied upon by boys and girls, and then of the Wordsworths:

> Dorothy was altered in every feature, a fat, thick-limbed, & rather red-haired [woman]—in short no resemblance to her at all . . . yet I was not surprized.
>
> I was followed up & down by a frightful pale woman who, I thought, wanted to kiss me, & had the property of giving a shameful Disease by breathing in the face.
>
> & again I dreamed that a figure of a woman of a gigantic Height, dim & indefinite & smokelike [*possibly* snakelike] appeared—& that I was forced to run up toward it & then it changed to a stool—& then appeared again in another place—& again I went up in great fright—& it changed to some other common thing—yet I felt no surprize.

In December 1803 he records a dream in which he was pursued by a mob, joined by the Cambridge harlot "in white with her open Bosom," whom he tried to buy off with a shilling. One could give more examples, but they are hardly necessary to support the view that Geraldine is a malignity out of Coleridge's own dreams.

Gillman's version of the proposed conclusion involves a conquest of Geraldine, and a resolution of family conflict, maternal and paternal; Coleridge never achieved these, nor the bliss the projected ending envisaged, a happy marriage of the lovers. The circumstances of Coleridge's life made it impossible to project, at least on such inward material (with the fixities and definites of the fancy anything is possible), any such culmination. Gillman's ending, then, should perhaps be taken more seriously than it has been, thankful though we may be that it was never forced on the poem. The whole matter raises interesting questions about the relation between poetry and experience.

Christabel is not a supernatural poem at all, any more than *The Ancient Mariner* is a supernatural poem in the usual sense. They both tell of individuals overpowered by their circumstances, whose connections with life are snapped, partly by their acts, more by their inadvertencies, and broken in such a crucial way as to deprive them of control and of all creative power. This is for Coleridge not only a personal tragedy but the profoundest tragedy of the human situation. Clearly *Christabel*, incomplete, is a more significant poem than *The White Doe*.

The Wordsworth-Coleridge collaboration and divergences gave us on the one hand, the Wordsworth hand, poems concerned with the direct literal "Influence of Natural Objects," and also poems in which, not satisfied with the joy and fear of nature, Wordsworth reaches out, in some mystical way, to the vision splendid, the clouds of glory and the heaven that lay about us in our infancy, a personal immortality, a moral power in nature; in other words, attempts to express the feeling for the supra-natural which became more insistent and took more traditional forms as he grew older. On the other hand, from Coleridge, also trying to achieve a "reconcilement of the external and the internal," we have poems which either describe literally, as does *Dejection*, or suggest under the transmuting power of Imagination as do *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*, the subjective realities of conflict, anxiety, fear, love, and joy, seen in their human and moral relations. In his own epitaph his prayer is that he who "Found death in life, may here find life in death!" Mercy, not praise, or certainty, he asks. For such an one there is no perfect vision and no final answer.

A Common Ancestry: Literature in Australia and Canada

Claude T. Bissell

Even the most diligent search will yield only a few documents that could be used to illustrate directly the cultural relations between Australia and Canada. Writers in the two countries have, for instance, lived and worked in almost complete ignorance of each other. Only two minor exceptions come to mind, and in each case it is a matter of a general interest in the other country rather than of any specific interest in its literature. Gilbert Parker, who was, for a short time during the nineties, a journalist in Australia, collected his articles under the title *Round the Compass in Australia*. It is a good travel book, based on solid information and first-hand knowledge, and written in a vigorous and incisive style. Parker's book is balanced on the Australian side by A. G. Stephens' *A Queenslander's Travel Notes*, a fugitive production much less significant than *Round the Compass in Australia*, although Stephens, the most influential of the Australian literary critics, is a more important literary figure than Parker. Stephens' book, with its brief and melancholy coda on Canada, follows the pattern of the nineteenth-century traveller's report on his American tour. The book, like Parker's, came out in the nineties, and its comments—sharply critical and often openly contemptuous—are to be read in the light of the depression both political and cultural which, at that time, afflicted Canada. Since there have been almost no direct literary contacts between the countries, it would be logical to expect no popular acceptance by the one country of the other's literature. That is in fact largely the case, although here Canada fares rather better: she has been more successful in producing the international best-seller; that strangely assorted trio, Leacock, Service, and de la Roche, are perhaps just as well known in Sydney and Adelaide as they are in Toronto or,

for that matter, in Zurich. No Australian writer comes anywhere near enjoying the same kind of reputation in Canada.

Even the field of political relations, where the prospect for significant contacts would seem to be more promising, supplies only a slim and broken narrative. There was Governor Arthur, who came from Tasmania to Upper Canada in 1838, presumably on the theory that the official who had so successfully turned Tasmania into the "gaol of the Empire" was the right man to deal with Canadian rebels. The Eureka incident of 1854 promises to yield a more substantial Australian-Canadian connection. Eureka is, in brief, the identifying tag for the rebellion of the miners in the Ballarat gold fields—the "diggers," as they were called—against the imposition of harsh licensing laws. With the immediate grievance were associated, somewhat vaguely, a number of radical ideas, so that Eureka occupies in Australian political mythology a rather similar position to the rebellion of 1837 in Canadian political mythology. Moreover, an authentic contemporary account of the actual armed rebellion mentions among the fatal casualties on the diggers' side a Lieutenant Ross from Canada and a Robert Julius from Nova Scotia—the only North American casualties listed. But presumably the Canadian contribution ended there. In a special Eureka supplement of *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, the writer of an article on "Americans and other Foreigners at Eureka" does not find in the death of the two Canadians cause for even a reflective footnote. Canada contributed less to an even more important Australian political development in the nineteenth century—the discussion on federation. It may be that the Australian fathers of the Commonwealth diligently searched the Canadian record for guidance on their own not dissimilar problems; but if they did so, they presumably found little of inspiration, for they talked a good deal about the American Constitution and very little about the British North America Act. The emergence of the British Commonwealth in the twentieth century has, of course, brought Australian and Canadian statesmen into close association; it is doubtful, however, whether either country knows much about the social and cultural life of the other.

But if one abandons this unrewarding search for precise documentation and examines the parallels and analogies in the cultural development of Australia and Canada, the material available is both extensive and exciting. It may well be that a similar approach could be made to the study of the cultural development of Canada and New Zealand, or, particularly in the light of the racial problem, of Canada and South

Africa. But if on the Canadian side we confine ourselves to the English-Canadian tradition, then I am convinced that the comparative study of Australian and Canadian culture is the most valid and the most fruitful. Certainly the Canadian visitor to Australia (and, I should think, an Australian visitor to Canada) has the feeling, despite sharp contrasts in the physical environment and in the details of daily living, that he has come to a society not greatly different from his own. He may feel like Samuel Butler's hero who, after a few days in *Erewhon*, notices that "all things were generically the same as [at home], the differences being of species only." Feeling will turn into conviction when he reads the national literature. He will find a host of strange names, a vocabulary that is occasionally puzzling, topographical and historical references that are unknown, often a tone that will seem harsh and discordant; but he will find also familiar themes and, eventually, broad patterns that are remarkably like those he has encountered in his native literature.

The study of a Dominion literature, particularly in its formative stages, becomes principally a study in the growth of national self-identification. Writers in the young country have available to them in a profuse and tempting fashion the resources of the parent culture or cultures; at the same time they live and speculate in an environment, physical and social, that may have little in common with the old land from which they or their parents have come. It is in the interplay between these two elements that the process of identification consists. What makes the Australian and Canadian comparison especially compelling is the similarity between the traditional or derivative elements in the two countries. The main cultural tradition is, of course, English (with, in Canada, strong Scottish, and, in Australia, strong Irish infusions); but—and this sets each sharply apart from South Africa and New Zealand—the English tradition is sharply modified by the American.

American influences are a major theme in any study of Canadian social and cultural history. Certainly such influences would not engage the attention of the Australian historian in so peremptory a fashion. Yet, in the field of literature, one could argue that Canadian writers have been less responsive than the Australian to American influences. As between English and American models, they have preferred the English. Charles Mair sends us back to Keats and Tennyson more often than to Freneau and Bryant. Richardson has read both Scott and Cooper, but it is the former that he takes as his master. Lampman listens more attentively to Arnold than to Longfellow. If Pratt may be said to be

derivative at all, it is to the Elizabethans and, possibly, to Hardy we must go, certainly to no American poet. Even Morley Callaghan follows the same direction, and in all the novels subsequent to the twenties, reminds us more of Graham Greene than of his early idol, Hemingway. Canadian writers found it more difficult than the Australian to absorb the exuberant realism that went with the expansion of the American democracy. Whitman excited only the feeblest discipleship in Canada, but he was a political bible and a literary inspiration to Bernard O'Dowd, perhaps the best of the pre-modern Australian poets. American Utopian and protest literature found eager readers in Australia, comparatively few in Canada. In the eighties and nineties Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* were popular texts; the ideas and the attitudes in these volumes found their way, either directly or indirectly, into the leading prose writers, Henry Lawson and Joseph Furphy.

It is well to make these salutary adjustments in the extent of the American influence on the two Dominions, particularly since, in the case of Canada, geographical propinquity encourages facile generalization. One must remember, too, that in both countries it has never been a question of American dominance. No Canadian writer can avoid some American influence; but Canadian literature has never been, at any time, a branch of American. Nor, indeed, despite the strong affinities I have pointed out, has Australian. In both countries the cultural devotion to the mother country has been central. Certainly, no challenge has come, in either country, from non-Anglo-Saxon sources. Each had to wait until the twentieth century for the emergence of a writer in a truly cosmopolitan tradition: in Australia, the poet, Christopher Brennan, and in Canada, the novelist, Frederick Philip Grove.

Because of the easy availability of a mature literary tradition, the early writers in a Dominion tend to be elegant rather than crude, sophisticated rather than naïve, although the elegance and sophistication are worn with an awkward self-consciousness. As the literature develops and the national consciousness awakens, the early writers become symbols of the effete and the false; their models too share in the general denigration. Thus Joseph Furphy in *Such is Life* is fond of attacking Henry Kingsley, brother of Charles and author of *Geoffrey Hamlyn* (1859), a novel of Australian pastoral life, and through Kingsley, all English novels of polite society. In Canada from the eighties on tough-minded critics have talked indiscriminately about the poetry of the mid-nineteenth century as if it were made up of vapid echoes of Keats and

Tennyson. Thus there develops the myth that all literature which is patently derivative is bad, and all unsophisticated literature is good. This is a form of primitivism which the rise of a mature historical criticism in Australia and Canada is eliminating. The truth is that both countries were fortunate to fall heirs to such a rich patrimony.

It must be granted, however, that the patrimony was exploited, at first, with crude ostentation and that it often stood in the way of an honest and direct treatment. This was particularly true of the treatment of landscape. To the early versifiers, steeped in the English pre-romantics, nature poetry demanded a particular kind of landscape, a landscape of quiet vales, green meadows, umbrageous trees, and gentle streams. Early Australian and Canadian poetry, like colonial American poetry, is full of literary echoes; the eyes of the poets are on the pages of Thomson, Scott, Moore, and Byron, and not on the object before them. The poet who describes with affection and precision the landscape that he sees around him is thus both literary innovator and quickener of the sense of national identity. This change came far more quickly in Canada than in Australia. The poetry of the eighties and nineties—the poetry of Lampman, Roberts, and Scott—is clearly quite different in kind from the poetry of Sangster, Mair, and Heavysege. The obvious indebtedness to the parent literature remains, but it is now servant, not master, of the poet's vision. No such vitalizing change took place in nineteenth-century Australian poetry. It is customary to see in the nature poetry of Henry Kendall, who published in the seventies and eighties, refreshing signs of a truly indigenous way of looking at nature, but, by comparison with Lampman, Kendall's nature poems seem like literary tinsel. One should, perhaps, look elsewhere for evidence of the native flavour in nineteenth-century Australian poetry, to the ballads, for instance, where men and horses dominated, and landscape was reduced to flashes of background. But the ballads that survive in anthologies, particularly those of Henry Lawson and "Banjo" Paterson, are chiefly literary exercises in a minor form; they smell more of the lamp than of the soil.

It is curious that Australian poets should have taken so long to discover the peculiar beauties of their own landscape, since they were confronted with something that was clearly unique. The Canadian Sangsters and Mairs could be forgiven their anglicizing of the landscape of the new land, for there were numerous reminders of "home"; Canada, like England, was a northern country, and the procession of the seasons, the formations of the land, and the kinds of trees and flowers,

particularly in the settled areas, could easily be adapted to the tone and pattern of English nature poetry. But only a perverse academic approach would permit the rendering of the Australian landscape in the language of English nature poetry. The gum tree, for instance, was quite different from anything that existed back home: it did not give shade; its thin, narrow leaves seemed rather to filter and intensify the sunlight. The quality of sunlight, as the Australian painters were gradually to realize, was entirely different from the English sunlight. In his recent book on Spain, V. S. Pritchett talks about "the immense Spanish light," and what he says is applicable to Australia. "One will never be able," he writes, "to take that clarity for granted, for it is a material presence in itself. Light, which in the north is thought of as something relative, as an arrangement of varying degrees of shadow, a changing and filtering of colour, and which has no definitions, is here positive and absolute." Another difference was the absence of the subtle gradations of green that characterize the English and, often, the Canadian landscape; by contrast, Australian fields were grey and drab, although some compensation could be found in the infinite variety of blues that clung to the outlines of distant hills. These characteristics were common to the fertile coastal regions. But just a few miles into the interior, more striking characteristics emerged. Here we have a harsh landscape dominated by clumps of mulga trees, often reduced to wizened grey skeletons, by dry, sandy river-beds that are turned into raging torrents by a heavy rainfall, by the immense blue sky that seems at night to stoop down and gently embrace the earth, and by sunlight. It is in many ways a forbidding and melancholy land, where the sun is a treacherous enemy, and where the marks of death and suffering are omnipresent.

The landscape, whether the lush coastal or the harsh interior variety, was not remote from the average Australian. Australia may be one of the most heavily urbanized countries in the world, about one-third of its population may be crowded into the two largest cities; yet the "bush" has a greater hold on the Australian's imagination than Collins Street or the Circular Quai. This is not the nostalgic mythology of the city dweller, although it is partly that. The very concentration of the population into large centres, with comparatively few fledgling cities or big towns, has given the bush enormous dimensions. This is why there does not exist, as there does in Canada, a precise frontier, conveniently remote from most city dwellers. In Australia the frontier, stripped, it is true, of its early crudities, is ever present; it crowds upon the cities and upon the lives of those who live in cities.

A boldly distinctive landscape that was part of the experience of most

Australians was bound, sooner or later, to receive literary recognition. In this century another force has been working to strengthen the hold of the landscape on the imagination. The original Australians—the aborigines—had worked out a complex and mysterious mythology that was closely linked with the land. For them the land was everything: source of livelihood, inspiration for their religion, their social customs, and their art. During the nineteenth century there was little recognition of the aboriginal as anything more than a troublesome, often vindictive "black," and certainly no inclination to take over his mythology for literary purposes. But now the wheel has come full circle. The aboriginal, long despised and rejected, has taken his revenge on his white master in a typically mild way. He has taught him, particularly if he is an artist, to see the Australian landscape with new eyes, to find a haunting beauty in what was once grotesque and ugly.

It can no longer be said of Australian poetry that it neglects the native landscape. Indeed, in some respects, the "land" has become an obsessive concern, particularly with the so-called *Jindyworobaks*, a loose association of poets presided over by Rex Ingamells, who urges upon writers "a clear recognition of environmental values," and strongly deprecates Australian poetry that does not breathe of the land and its mysteries. The poetic results of this doctrine are frequently unimpressive. Compare, for instance, Rex Ingamells' *The Great South Land* with E. J. Pratt's *Towards the Last Spike*, two attempts at the geographical epic. The former is diffuse, grandiose, at best, sporadically eloquent, unsuccessful in converting the land into a symbol; the latter is concentrated, alive with irony, adroitly turning the Great Shield into a symbol of the limitless space and the terrifying power of the Canadian northland. Pratt's poem rests on a firm tradition that, within its limits, is admirable; Ingamells' poem reflects the confusion in aims and methods that arises out of his own doctrines.

There are, however, poets who blend natural details with a human situation to achieve an emotional landscape that is haunting and beautiful, as, for instance, Judith Wright, one of the best of the moderns, frequently does. And there is a group of poets—Kenneth Slessor, R. D. Fitzgerald, and A. D. Hope are the best known—who are not "Australian" in any marked fashion, who write reflective and satirical verse in a cosmopolitan tradition. But the general impression is that Australian poetry has not yet fashioned from its diffuse and shallow nineteenth-century antecedents and from the new and exciting resources revealed in the twentieth a clear and compelling style.

If Australian self-identification in terms of the natural environment

came rather slowly, with inhibiting results for literature, particularly for poetry, it came with astonishing swiftness in another and, perhaps, more important area. What impresses an observer most about the evolution of Australian society is the rapidity with which in the nineteenth century it developed a complex and self-contained social structure. Australians were conscious of themselves as Australians belonging to a distinctive society at a time when Canadians were only venturing to speculate about the emergence of a national feeling.

What were some of the characteristics of this self-contained Australian society? In the first place, by the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, it was a diversified society with intricate distinctions based on wealth and status. Henry Handel Richardson gives us a picture of the thickening of Melbourne society in the two decades following the gold rush; in this short time it had produced an aristocracy of wealth made up of "the great squatter-kings, owners of sheep-runs that counted up to a hundred thousand acres," and of the "fabulously lucky speculators, as well as the great wool-burgers." Joseph Furphy offers a companion picture of the amusing stratification in the little closed societies of the Victorian sheep stations:

> In the accurately-graded society of a proper station, you have a reproduction of the Temple economy under the old Jewish ritual. The Manager's house is a Sanctum Sanctorum, wherein no one but the high priest enters; the barracks is an Inner Court, accessible to the priests only; the men's hut is an Outer Court, for the accommodation of lay worshippers; and the nearest pine-ridge, or perhaps one of the empty huts at the wool-shed, is the Court of the Gentiles. And the restrictions of the Temple were never more rigid than those of a self-respecting station.

These social stratifications had not, of course, hardened in the way that they had in the old country. Nineteenth-century Australia was an explosive society, in which great fortunes could be made or destroyed in a short time. Now that the situation has changed, and Canada has become the land of romantic economic enterprise and Australia the sober disciple of paternalistic equality, it is difficult to see clearly the older picture. In the nineties, Gilbert Parker pointed out that "a wealthy Australian" was, in London, as usual a phrase as "a wealthy American." He went on to explain why this should be:

> There are good reasons for this. Rich Australians make London their Mecca as rich Americans do Paris. One seldom hears of a wealthy Canadian; yet Canada is older than Australia. The difference lies in the fact that Canada has risen from a base of agriculture; Australia from a base of mining, pastoral, and planting life. Canada has more homes, Australia more fortunes.

Parker's comparison is, no doubt, valid, but it should not be taken as evidence of the dominance either of conservatism in Australia or of radicalism in Canada. There were, and still are, strong conservative elements in Australian society—a respect for tradition and a delight in ritual, and, less attractively, a pride in family and economic status and a stolid refusal to break with the familiar. But the tone of Australian society, as reflected in its literature, has been, generally speaking, radical. What most impressed A. G. Stephens during his stay in Ontario was the solid respectability of society, the complete absence of the heady republicanism he had encountered in the United States. "Protestant Canada is superabundantly 'loyal,' " he wrote. "As in Ireland the Ulster men, so in Canada the men of Ontario, constantly contending with opponents in race and religion, are more English than the English themselves. Parkes' 'crimson thread of kinship' is in Upper Canada as thick as a cable, and the Ontarians are never done protesting their fidelity to the throne." A. G. Stephens was not, perhaps, a representative Australian. But he was, for his time, a representative Australian man of letters. He stood at the very centre of a literary movement, whose bible was the weekly paper, *The Bulletin*, and which proclaimed, in the words of Joseph Furphy, that good writing should have a "temper, democratic; bias, offensively Australian."

By the eighties and nineties the best Australian writing had allied itself to a radical political philosophy. Furphy, Lawson, and O'Dowd are full of indignation against privilege, pomp, and hypocrisy in high places, and the dangers of inequality; on the positive side, they see the possibilities in Australia of a classless society, of a "millenial Eden" lurking beneath the country's face. The contrast with Lampman's dreamy Utopianism, the nearest in contemporary Canadian literature to political radicalism, is sharp.

The radical element in Australian literature is a major subject; it has been carefully and illuminatingly examined in a recent book, Vance Palmer's *The Legend of the Nineties*. But the basis for the alliance between literature and radicalism may be simply stated. As a result of the sharpness of economic and social distinctions, the working classes developed a solidarity and a strong sense of self-identity. Working class attitudes were not shaped principally in the city: they came rather from the migrant workers in the "bush," from the bullock drivers and the sheep shearers, who developed a peculiar sense of cohesiveness founded on sharing common dangers. The group spirit found expression often in popular ballads and stories that could easily be transposed in a more sophisticated key. Australian radicalism may not have been as wide-

spread as popular history would have it; it certainly developed no aggressive and coherent ideology; but it fathered a "legend" sufficiently strong and complex to nourish a lively literature.

What effect did all this have on the quality of the literature? There is, of course, no necessary virtue in a literature that allies itself with the forces of protest. Furphy's major book, *Such is Life*, is heavy with well-intentioned eloquence on the joys of mateship; O'Dowd's "militant poetry" splinters into laborious, rhetorical phrases. But its political bias did mean that Australian literature has had from the nineties onward a social sophistication that Canadian literature has only recently acquired. The Australian writer has been conscious of living in a society that has a recognizable shape, and he has been able to focus sharply and clearly on its problems. The Canadian writer, until very recently, has never quite been able to see the outlines of a Canadian society, and, for that reason, has often lacked a real subject. The novelist has suffered most, for he must have a vision of a society which, in some way, relates to a recognizable reality. The poet is not dependent to the same extent on the social vision. He may, indeed, as in the case of Christopher Brennan, generally thought by Australians to be their greatest poet, work in a world with a scenery and a cast of characters created out of his own imagination. But few Australian poets had Brennan's vision. Until recently Australian literature has been strong in prose, comparatively weak in poetry. In Canada the reverse is true. The novelist drew back from contemporary society. They looked back to the past or turned Canadian farms into English country estates. The poets had available to them a strong and healthy tradition of landscape poetry with which they could join an interest in moral and religious ideas aroused by their study of contemporary English verse. When, in either country, a writer tried both poetry and prose, the Australian was stronger in the prose, the Canadian in the poetry. Henry Lawson wrote short stories that are taut, compressed, and ironic; occasionally they come close to greatness. But his verse rarely rises above doggerel. When the nineteenth-century Canadian poets turned to prose fiction they were no better than the average run of stilted romancer. One should make an exception of Roberts' animal stories and of Scott's prose sketches, although the latter are certainly dull and placid beside Scott's poetry.

If one thinks of the major novelists in both countries, from the beginnings to the twenties—say, Clarke, Furphy, Lawson, Richardson, Prichard, in Australia; Richardson, Kirby, Grove, de la Roche, in Canada—there are two major advantages that the Australian writers

have. They have a more detailed and precise grasp of the social scene. Their realism is more sweeping and exuberant, less inhibited and decorous. While they have a firmer hold on the society they are depicting, they do not ignore the individual; there is a warmth and vitality in their characterization that one does not find in Canadian fiction until recent years. Detailed studies of comparable novels would bear this out. Richardson's *Wacousta* and Kirby's *The Golden Dog*—the two best Canadian historical novels of the nineteenth century—are pompous inventions beside the passionate, superbly documented melodrama of Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of his Natural Life*. Any part of Miss de la Roche's saga of the Whiteoaks is a pale idyll beside Henry Handel Richardson's morosely impressive saga of Richard Mahony; and any of Grove's studies of Canadian frontier life is stolid and prosaic beside Katherine Susannah Prichard's poignant tragedy of Australian frontier life, *Coonardoo*.

The Australian realistic tradition may now, however, have exhausted itself. The career of the Australian novelist, Xavier Herbert, is symptomatic. In 1938 he published *Capricornia*, a novel about frontier life in and around Darwin. It was written in an unflinchingly tough realistic tradition, with passion and imagination, but with a good deal of monotonous repetition and of facile social iconoclasm. But since this great success—and the novel was deservedly popular in Australia and, also, in the United States—Mr. Herbert has fallen silent. It may be that he has written himself out, that tough realism and social indignation are not in themselves sufficient to sustain a writer. New sources of strength for the Australian novel may be revealed in two recent books, Seaforth Mackenzie's *The Refuge*, and Patrick White's *The Tree of Life*. These are very different books—the first, a study of innocence and guilt in a sophisticated Sydney setting, and the other an "outback" novel told in the simplest narrative style. But Mackenzie and White have this in common: without turning their backs on the exuberant realistic tradition in Australian literature, they are sensitive and probing, alive to the great moral mysteries of life. They possess qualities that heretofore have not been conspicuously present in Australian fiction. Indeed, an Australian critic, Mr. Brian Elliott, recently pointed out in the Melbourne literary journal, *Meanjin*, that the tradition of serious moral inquiry is as charmingly absent from Australian as it is strongly present in Canadian literature. The tradition has given Canadian literature an embarrassing incubus of didacticism but it has also, more recently, in the work of writers like Morley Callaghan, Hugh MacLennan, Philip Child, and Ethel

Wilson, given us many more examples of the serious contemplative novel than one could find in contemporary Australian fiction.

I have in this article risked a number of comparative generalizations, if only to draw attention to the existence of a basis for making them. I would conclude with another generalization about the validity of which I have not the slightest doubt: by virtue of their common ancestry, the literatures of Australia and Canada faced problems that were basically similar, even though they often worked out solutions that were startlingly different. To trace comparatively the course of the two literatures is to make some contribution in the field of historical criticism and, eventually, one hopes, to affect, in a modest but salutary way, the future development of both literatures.

Sir Constantine Huygens, England, and Holland

A. G. H. Bachrach

Among the untold treasures of the National Gallery, London, there is a small Dutch painting which is not always on show. When it is exhibited, as it is at present, it does not strike anyone as particularly exciting. And this lack of popularity is not really surprising when we glance at it in passing.

At first sight, all the picture represents is two male figures in what is apparently an ante-room in a big Renaissance dwelling; the one is seated by a carpet-covered table cluttered up with an odd assortment of objects, the other is standing on his right and handing him a minutely folded letter for which he reaches out. What sort of man the principal figure is, seems difficult to say. He looks like a rich merchant or senior official: dignified, middle-aged, dressed after the dark, severely cut fashion of contemporary Calvinist The Hague. The light from an unseen window in the foreground shows him almost emphatically booted and spurred. A wide-brimmed hat is planted squarely on his crown, and his pale face and gloved right hand are raised to the young messenger. The rest, to all intents and purposes, is darkness.

"A good specimen of seventeenth-century *genre*-painting," is the judgment most often heard. And, indeed, you might put it on a par with any number of its female counterparts any day. Most museums of European art can boast a picture or two of the type. They show you again and again some well-to-do Dutch lady, usually in respectable négligée, reading the *billet-doux* brought her by a servant-girl waiting more or less discreetly in the background. Occasionally, the subject is an officer interrupted at somewhat un-warlike pastimes by a signal-bearing trumpeter. And, as a rule, these pictures are superbly painted. With that consummate skill of a great school, which marks even the most insignificant of its representatives, each artist depicts his own variations on these continually recurring themes. Interiors are as intimate as they are

colourful. Settings are quietly opulent. And the figures—in fixed theatrical poses and with bland, well-scrubbed faces—are ultimately boring. Yes, our picture is all this; but is this all?

Now the whole question, of course, revolves round the problem of the effect such a picture has on us. The average *genre*-piece of any school, no matter whether in painting, in music, or in writing, does not exactly help us to discriminate. It is characteristic of types and—precisely because of this—it is anonymous. But our specimen is not anonymous. In catalogues you will find it referred to as "Sir Constantine Huygens and his Clerk." The date given is 1627, the artist Thomas de Keyzer, and, after an enumeration of what we are to look for on the sitter's table—his lute and two vellum-bound books, his pair of compasses, his ink-well, his quill, all cunningly set off against his big twin globes; and, further back, his sculptured fireplace and the huge tapestry shutting off his room from the hall—after a description of practically the entire inventory of the décor, we are informed that the gentleman portrayed was Secretary to the Dutch Stadtholder, a poet and patron of the arts, and, above all, the father of the famous seventeenth-century scientist, Christiaen Huygens. Is that enough to make us pause and ask: what does it mean, what do these lifeless data stand for? Let us assume we are intrigued. For, if the name of the scientist-son may be accounted comparatively well known, that of the father is generally not.

To the student of European literature, Constantine Huygens is, at best, a footnote. He is this because of his translations into Dutch of a number of Donne's poems at a time when the originals had not yet been printed in England. In his own day, however, he was the very opposite of a footnote. In the seventeenth century he was that remarkably felicitous combination of an extremely efficient, highly placed civil servant and a real "virtuoso." He was born at The Hague in 1596 and he died there in 1687. Throughout this long span he knew almost everybody worth knowing in France, Italy, and England, either personally or as a correspondent. Where England is concerned, the role it played in the life of the non-committal Dutch "notable" of that unobtrusive little *genre*-piece in the National Gallery is best exemplified in the contrast between two of his most characteristic private utterances. The one dates from 1618 when he first went over to England and could write a glowing farewell in Latin verse to his fatherland, exclaiming:

> Ut modo ne civis sim miser, exul ero . . .
> Magne Britannorum Rex, Iacobe, fave!"[1]

The other belongs to a period more than fifty years later, when he would send home staccato accounts of his latest trip, reporting on the affability of Charles II and his Queen, the ways of the Court, the charms of the conversation, and the allurements of the bookshops—accounts which he would conclude by proudly declaring that such was the kind of existence he could lead at this latter end of his life, overseas.[2]

If we ask how we should account for the development implied, the answer is almost classical. At least, it is that to those compatriots of Constantine Huygens, who for centuries have found that they, too, in a sense, went to England at one time "in order not to be a miserable burgher," and that they, too, came to know, each in their own way, what "the kind of existence" amounted to which one could only lead "overseas," in Britain. Need we add that, from Erasmus of Rotterdam onwards, their susceptibilities were not merely spiritual? But then, it seems unlikely one could ever fall in love with a country, if that country were not, for a certain while at any rate, let us say "personified."

Constantine Huygens did fall in love with England. As for the "personification," among the large collection of Huygens papers which have gradually found their way into the Royal Library at The Hague, there is a handful of hastily scribbled, loose sheets which, although they are only fragments of an otherwise lost correspondence, speak for themselves. They were written in the spring of 1624 by a Dutch girl whose emotional attachment to young Constantine is obvious. He himself was in England at the time, on his third visit actually, and was wrapped up in his life as a member of a special mission from the States General. In his spare time he was, as on a previous visit, a frequent guest at the house of Lady Mary Killigrew in Lothbury. Dorothea van Dorp, the Dutch girl, had heard of Lady Mary from other sides as well. At The Hague she was acquainted with Lady Anne Carleton, the wife of the English Ambassador, and several English ladies-in-waiting to the exiled Queen of Bohemia who, as the fascinating but ill-fated daughter of James I, was the centre of society life in the Stadtholder's capital. And so, as could be expected, the letters which have come down to us all begin with tit-bits of local gossip to amuse her "Song"—the English pet name by which she addressed Huygens.

But that is not the point. The point is that, after such small talk there could suddenly follow a breathless passage, written almost as if it had been taken down in short-hand, and urging: Where was the bracelet he had promised her? And the other things? The ring from Mistress Killigrew, which she wanted to wear always, even when she took off every-

thing else? Why was she not told more about her Ladyship and whether she was still the same? "Please," we find Dorothea hurriedly writing, "Please, pay my humble respects to her, and tell her I have now put at her disposal—and as a loan, mind you—something which is dearer to me than almost anything in the whole world. And that I trust to her discretion that this will not be to my prejudice. . . ." And then, after she has mentioned that So-and-so was now an ardent suitor, she exclaims: "I shall be snatched up one day before you know. But no matter how it comes or not, I shall ever be the same Song of my Song; even if I heard you were wooing the fairest maids of England I should not be jealous, since the love you would bear them would not be what I pretend to. If you like, be amorous. What I should like is to see you in love: it would suit you so well. Adieu, Song, I am in a silly mood." And at the bottom of the page she scrawls, "I shall keep a lookout for the little dog" in reply to his request for one to give to Lady Killigrew, and adds, "and, if you write, let it be in English, you know why, and don't forget the English booklet. . . ."[3]

For us, a letter such as this contains more than mere vanities. Between its lines we may find many a clue to what England must have meant to the more sensitive among the Dutch, and these clues are presented in a form which seems only too rarely to survive. In this case, we are particularly fortunate in even possessing a draft or two of the letters which Dorothea wrote to Lady Mary herself. These she wrote in English. Was her teacher or interpreter for the occasion one of the numerous young noblemen who flocked to Holland in those days to serve under the Prince of Orange and learn the art of warfare in his yearly campaign against the Spaniards, either in the field or at The Hague? Was it one of the English chaplains, a cultured Merchant Adventurer, or perhaps some pious Brownist? The stained, greyish scrap of seventeenth-century notepaper does not reveal the penman. We can only take our magnifying glass and pore over its neat court hand, until we find ourselves musing about the unchanging course such triangular entanglements apparently take. It was a course that ran true to pattern, even to the extent of Dorothea's writing to Constantine a few weeks later that, really, she had no claim on him, and would he by all means enjoy his freedom and remember only how much she felt under an obligation to Lady Killigrew for making his stay so memorable and sending her presents. He must certainly take the trouble to thank her graciously; she, on her part, would have her picture dispatched to her Ladyship as requested, though Mijnheer van Mierevelt required much time to finish it. "I cannot think," the passage continues, "why she wants it; the best

painter to depict me she has by her side. Tell her that the skin is bad and that whatever good there may be she would have to hear from you, Sir!" Thereafter she mentions a visit she has paid to his mother in their new house. It was princely in its furnishings, she comments, "although they will not be a patch on those tapestries in England. . . ." Would he send her four or five yards of a certain shade of ribbon and also find out the price of the bracelet Mistress Killigrew had sent her? He must not forget to beg for some jam—if he would come back, that is—of barberries. For those, too, they had not got at home.

Need we quote more? Again, these letters are not great epistles but their interest is that they are at once period-pieces and private revelations. They show how real the custom must have been in average upper-class circles at The Hague, of having one's portrait painted by reputed artists for distribution among friends at home and abroad. They show that the desire to master some English was not confined to a handful of exceptional men. They show the habit of individually obtaining from and dispatching to Britain articles with a special appeal. But for us, their most significant lines are those in which Dorothea declares that what she had sent to England came from someone who was her Ladyship's servant more than anyone had ever been, "notwithstanding all her lovers." For this passage ends with the confession "I am so grieved she has now left London, since you, Sir, apparently dote on meeting people at her house." Here we put down our magnifying glass and sit back and connect.

Yes, the house of Lady Mary Killigrew would have had an unusual attraction. Huygens's beguiling hostess, after all, was one of the beautiful and gifted nieces of Francis Bacon. She had married into the Killigrew family, some of whose members had long been among Queen Elizabeth's most reliable minor courtiers employed as roving ambassadors. Two Killigrews, in fact, had been Her Majesty's personal envoys to the Low Countries on several occasions. When in 1621 young Constantine came over as secretary to his first Embassage from the Dutch Republic, it was only natural that he should have been invited by their relations to visit them. But what is worth stressing is that he should have become a friend in his own right. This occurred after he had proved himself to be a good lute-player and a tolerable singer. The process will not be altogether unfamiliar, nor the prizes either. Huygens may have been a budding diplomat, he certainly was a budding poet, as well; and no poet from across the Narrow Seas could have been luckier in his newly won connections.

In the Holland-minded Killigrew circle he could sit at the feet of Sir

Walter Ralegh's spirited widow and drink in her reminiscences of the great Elizabethan age one day, and exchange classical tags about versification with Ben Jonson the next. He could discuss music with Lanier or Gaultier, and the chemistry of perfumes with Sir Robert, his host, who was also interested in pharmacy and was an amateur disciple of the King's physician, Turquet de Mayerne. The son of Isaac Oliver was there to talk of painting. As for his contacts with the Dean of St. Paul's, even as an octogenarian writing his memoirs in the endlessly flowing Latin verse of the period, Huygens waxed lyrical when recalling John Donne, "the greatest of them all," as he exclaimed, "both in the pulpit and in the society of his friends."[4]

It has often been remarked that a Hollander's attempt to translate the leader of the Metaphysical poets can only have been in the nature of a *tour de force*. In fact, the most exalted critic to use words to that effect was King Charles himself, and when, some time after that unfortunate monarch's execution, the translations came out in Huygens's collected poems, Huygens printed this reaction of the Martyr-king in his foreword. When viewed in the light of what we can reconstruct of his English connections, however, this judgment must be reconsidered. Huygens, let it be said once more, had fallen in love with England. It is true, he had been grounded in English at home where his father, as secretary to the Dutch Council of State, had regularly mixed with English diplomats and high-ranking officers of the allied British troops. As a boy he had played the viol with Sir Henry Wotton during the latter's stay at The Hague. As an undergraduate at Leyden University he had shared lodgings with fellow-students from England. His initial visit to England had taken place under the ambassadorial wing of Sir Dudley Carleton, he had stayed with the Dutch Resident, and he had returned with the English divines bound for the Synod of Dordt. At each subsequent visit he had laboured to improve what he knew. The range of his interests had always been wide, though inextricably tied to the Protestant cause, to which his country owed its so recently conquered freedom. But even Britain's Protestantism would account for no more than his sympathy. England had become his New-found-land. It had become this not merely because England had been his first new country, the English people his first new nation, English his first new language (not French, since French was an educated Dutchman's second mother-tongue), but because the intellectual stimulation he had found there included that of the New Learning.

At this distance, it is not easy to visualize the impact which the writer of the *Novum Organum* must have had on the generation first confronted

with his approach to science. "Illuminating" is only a feeble term; it in no way implies the optimism resulting from his refutation of the stereotyped fear of nature's decay ever since the Ancients, and from the democratization of science through his supplanting the primacy of book-learning by that of experiment. At home, Huygens had been thoroughly trained in logic and rhetoric on the basis of the Latin and Greek authors. His very humanist education had not, however, included any serious study of mathematics. Admittedly, one of his tutors had been a Scot but the teaching dispensed had been Aristotle and John of Holywood. The lectures of Gilbert Jacchaeus, another Scot, may have served as a philosophic prelude at Leyden. But it remains a fact that when he came to London he knew little about the progress the Renaissance had made in natural science. Accordingly, as he recalled the Great Instaurator in his autobiographical fragment, written in 1629, he could reveal that ever since he had first heard this man's call to learning he had revered him as an "homo non mortalis" almost "nescioquo cum horrore."[5] The whole passage is remarkable for the evident awe of his worship of what must have been one of the greatest liberating forces in his life. And Huygens remained loyal to these feelings in spite of a personal reaction to the manner of this "monstrum hominis" in his official dealings, which made him declare nothing had ever appeared to him "arrogantia vanius aut affectatius"!

Like the numerous Englishmen who came increasingly under Bacon's influence, our strict and orthodox Dutchman acquired a renewed respect for the potentialities of the human spirit through Bacon's elaboration of the task of knowledge incumbent upon youth. Next to the "Codex Scriptus," the Bible, in which the Lord had revealed Himself once, there was the "Codex Vivus," Nature, in which the Lord revealed Himself forever; and Bacon's insistence upon the co-operation of all minds in the study of the latter could not but fire with enthusiasm youthful intellectuals who had never heard such sounds before. Are we surprised to read that Huygens found it superfluous to relate the applause *The Advancement of Learning* had met with among his English friends, as a "res notissima"? That it was not merely Bacon's thought which had enchanted him but also his style, stands to reason. "Stupendo alloquio satiare me nunquam potui," he exclaims and nobody could have been more impressed by Bacon's attacks on the Idols of the Marketplace, on the abuse of words.

Huygens knew about the use and abuse of words. He had himself practised putting thoughts into words in Dutch and in French, in Latin and in Italian, and latterly in English, whenever even the shadow of a

thought had come into his mind. Naturally, the style of writing he had adopted had been copied from the Ancients. In this connection it is amusing to see how Thomas Goffe addressed him. Goffe of Christ Church was one of the Oxford scholars who replied to the Latin elegy on the University which Huygens had sent to his friends there in 1621, when the press of his duties prevented him from revisiting one of the most inspiring places he had first seen in 1618. In his long poem, printed as a broadsheet through the good offices of kindred spirits such as Edward Meetkercke, the Flemish Professor of Hebrew, Huygens had sung the praises of each of Oxford's sights and assets in the traditional metre.[6] Goffe began in English:

> I dare not with the same nor tongue nor art,
> Thy *Constant* Muse hath spoke in, act the part
> Of gratefull admiration . . .

and when he reached Huygens's dithyrambics on the Bodleian, as he faithfully followed the successive sections of the Latin elegy, he rejoined:

> To Bodley's Vatican; there, there's delight
> To dwell for ever in, there doth thy straine
> Rise equall to the place, and thy rich vaine
> Frought with that learned wealth doth seeme to bee
> In that description a new Library. . . .

One wonders whether Constantine would have realized at once the friendly irony of a string of compliments which was concluded with "To Thee, I wish,

> . . . that thou in all climes maiest find
> An Oxford, for a man so learn'd as thee
> Can make each place an University.[7]

Huygens's was not the "New" learning, at the time, nor was his style of thinking and expressing himself "new." Only gradually did he relinquish what he had been brought up in. But when his awakening came, it was mainly thanks to his early English friends and his early English reading (friends who included practitioners such as Cornelius Drebbel and Inigo Jones, reading that included such equally inspiring Moderns as Gilbert's *De Magnete* and Hakewill's *Apology*), to his contact with minds that could conceive of "poesy" as "a dream of learning."

The truly biblical age Sir Constantine Huygens reached, constituted a strange life. Like many of his contemporaries he had a precocious youth, where his mental development was concerned, but, in a way, he did not fulfil the promise he seemed to embody. As they reckon on

the Rialto—a replica of which he had erected in his garden in memory of his visit to Venice with a Dutch Special Mission in 1620—he was "a great success." Yet, it is worth observing that after having been knighted by James I when he was well on the way towards a brilliant career in his country's foreign service, when his destination seemed the London Embassy, he suddenly accepted in 1625, for reasons never wholly disclosed, the post of Secretary to the Prince of Orange. The office was a supremely responsible one and soon, moreover, allowed him to occupy a central position in the political as well as the cultural world of the United Provinces. But it kept him within his small country's boundaries. During the Cromwellian period he was able to help a large number of Royalist exiles and their artistic hangers-on. In the 1660's and again in the 1670's he revisited England and established close personal links with several members of the Royal Society. It was a joy for him to revisit those of his former friends who had survived the tempestuous events of the middle of the century. Over the years his library had come to contain what may have been among the choicest collections of English books on the Continent, with its Chaucers and its Shakespeares, its Spensers, Jonsons, and Metaphysicals, its unique set of theological works and its extensive scientific section. His picture gallery contained Rembrandts which the artist had personally offered him as tokens of gratitude for his timely recognition and powerful patronage. Using his own experience as a guide, he had succeeded in training one of his sons to become a scientist whom his friend Descartes had thought fit to describe as a young Archimedes while still in his teens and, subsequently, the Royal Societies of England and France vied with each other to call their own. His country estate in the green pastures beyond The Hague where he spent his solitary old age boasted plane-trees and a bowling alley which the Queen of Bohemia and Sir William Temple admired. But his inspiration as a poet somehow never exceeded the complex intensity it had been distinguished for after his early English visits, when he wrote his "Zedeprinten" (a set of Overburian "Characters") his "Kostelick Mal" (a satire on the theme of John Williams' "On Apparel"), and his nineteen translations from Donne's "Songs and Sonnets."

Sir Constantine Huygens's translations from Donne, far from being the outcome of an irresponsible whim, were a true labour of love. In the letters he exchanged with the members of the "Muiderkring"—the Pléiade-like circle of literary ladies and gentlemen which he felt most at home with—he said that he wanted to introduce a new key to the singing of the Dutch Muse. Some responded favourably to the trans-

lations, but others were unable to appreciate their so-called "darkness." Huygens's remarkable feeling for the sharp, often shocking juxtaposition of incongruities which is such a striking feature of the English Metaphysical school remained very much a thing of his own. Was this due to his exceptional background? Was such a background itself perhaps an incongruity? The answer must be: only seemingly so.

The pro-French bias in nineteenth-century commentators has long concealed the issue.[8] Superficially, all foreign influence in Huygens's Holland indeed looks French, but underneath, England has left its mark. From King Alfred's time onwards commerce between Britain and the Low Countries had been so constant and so all-pervasive that its traces may be discovered in every walk of life. For generations the allied English troops had fought the common Spanish foe and mingled with the Dutch people; for generations others had come from the British Isles as religious refugees, as exiles and expatriates; and for generations inhabitants of the Low Countries had emigrated to England for similar reasons. Then, finally, economic rivalry had prevailed, the political deadlock of the Europe in which the Dutch Republic had so miraculously thrived disappeared, and ties became suspect, at least in public life. Precisely because of the closeness of their relationship, the attitude of one neighbour to the other had always been ambivalent somewhere in the Anglo-Dutch world. In Huygens's lifetime the Dutch had known both love and hatred, and his own experience foreshadowed what was to come. Only in his early years could a Leyden professor, in an epigram for his young friend's portrait, write that here was the likeness of one whom Britannia's glance had often rested on.[9] Huygens himself would never forget that Britannia had first shown him what had not been dreamt of in his classical philosophy. But he was not to exercise any lasting Anglophil influence in a Dutch civilization which, in poetry most of all, was to remain true to the Ancients for a long time to come. Yet, no other Hollander was ever to function so consistently as a clearing-house for cultural values.

This function was never more hopeful than in the late 1620's when, though Huygens's career in the Dutch foreign service seemed to have come to an end, his private feelings were full to overflowing with things English. It was the period just before his marriage, the period when the National Gallery's little *genre*-piece was painted: a picture which shows us a straight-backed, Dutch gentleman sitting, booted and spurred, between the clerk who symbolizes his duties and the overloaded table which symbolizes his spirit; a picture which, even down to its present

English home, indeed represents a Dutch seventeenth-century gentleman in his own universe and posed in that, for him almost emblematic, act—the transmission of a "message."

NOTES

1 From "Constantinus Huygens in Magnam Britanniam iturus Patriam valedicit." Worp, *Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* (Groningen, 1892), I, 115–16.

2 See ". . . Voyci donc que la cruche a encor faict ce tour à l'eau, et ie roule par ceste Cour, comme ie fis il y a 6 et 7 et 47 et 50 Ans" (Huygens to Chieze, December 10, 1670; Royal Library, The Hague, MS XLIX[3], f. 345). Also ". . . *à Londres* j'y fais journellement ma cour à un grand Roy, qui me traicte comme s'il ne l'estoit pas, et à une petite Reine aussi spirituelle que douce et debonnaire en mon endroict. J'y considere les beautez, et me moque du fard qui les estalle. Je tourmente les Ministres et ils me souffrent auec ciuilite. Je voy les gens d'honneur et ils me rendent visite. Je reçoi quantité de lettres et repons à toutes. Je voy Comédoes, Bals et baletz et m'en rejouis fort mediocrement. J'entens force musique, et en compose encor dauantage. J'achepte nombre de liures Anglois et les deuore comme un gloutton. J'assiste à beaucoup de bonnes tables et m'y enyvre comme à la Haye. Je me leue aucunement de bonn' heure et me couche à minuit. Voila, Mons[gr], en gros, le train de ce bout de ma vie d'outremer." (Huygens to the Rhingrave, n.d., 1671; *ibid.*, f. 361.)

3 Translated from "Brieven van Constantijn Huygens aan Dorothea van Dorp" *De Dietsche Warande* (1892), 339–40.

4 See (Worp, VIII, 208):

> . . . Te, maxime Donni,
> Omnibus antefero, divine vir, optime Rhetor,
> Prime Poëtarum: O, quoties sermonibus illis
> Aureolis, quos vel privatos inter amicos
> Vel de suggestu, Praeco facunde, serebas
> Intereram, quo me visus sum nectare pasci!"

5 See his autobiographical fragment printed in *Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (The Hague, 1897), XVIII, 112–15.

6 See his "Constantinus Hughenius Illustrissimae Confaederatarum Belgii Provinciarum Legationi à Secretis, Academiae Oxoniensi perpetuum florere" (Worp, I, 262–7).

7 See "To Sir Constantine Huyghens, Knight, & Secretarie to the Lords the Ambassadors from the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands to his Ma[tie] of G. Brittaine" (British Museum, Add. MSS. 28098, ff. 45–6).

8 With the exception of Dr. R. L. Colie of Columbia University, to whom the author is greatly indebted, even the most recent writers on seventeenth-century Dutch civilization or contributors to histories of Dutch literature and Dutch art, have followed suit. An authoritative study of Huygens's life and letters still remains to be written.

9 See the Latin epigram by Daniel Heinsius for the Miereveld portrait of Huygens at the age of 27, as engraved for the frontispiece of Huygens's *Otiorum Libri Sex* (The Hague, 1625), the third line of which reads:

> . . . [Hughenium,]
> Quem Veneti, Lector, quem saepe Britannia vidit.

L'Auteur malgré lui

Eugène Joliat

Saint-Evremond was one of the most quoted men of his age. The demand for his writings, strong during his lifetime, continued for fifty years after his death, during which period there appeared fourteen authentic and pirated editions of his complete works. His views on literature, criticism, history, ethics, and religion, many of them written down in exile, were eagerly read by a public which found in them certain ideas too bold to be freely expressed in France.[1]

Yet Saint-Evremond, if we are to believe his friend and editor, Pierre Silvestre, never published a single work: "Ceux qui n'ont pas connu Monsieur de Saint-Evremond doivent savoir qu'il n'a jamais rien fait imprimer, & que les Livres qu'on a publiés sous son Nom ont été imprimés sur des Copies qui couroient dans le Monde . . ." (I, Préf., 17). From 1668 until his death in 1703 Saint-Evremond furnishes us with a rare example of an "auteur malgré lui," whose works are published without his participation or his consent. From the day when, in The Hague, he first happened upon three little volumes purporting to be written by him,[2] to the end of the century when he wondered which of his works the widow of the publisher Barbin was printing,[3] he had the oft-repeated experience of being almost more directly involved as a reader than as a writer of his own printed works. But worse than that, his name was freely used by booksellers to peddle works which would not otherwise have sold, and the story is told that one of these worthies asked a hack-writer: "Monsieur! je vous prie, faites-moi du Saint-Evremond, je vous donnerai trente pistoles; vous m'en avez déjà bien fait, dont j'ai été content" (I, Préf., 17).

Indeed, booksellers and their minions in France and Holland worked so diligently that at Saint-Evremond's death the spurious material published at various times under his name amounted to more than half of his entire authentic output. And this comedy of deliberate errors pursued our author even beyond the grave—in 1706, on the occasion of

the second authentic edition of his complete works, the bookseller Pierre Mortier of Amsterdam had the brilliant notion of increasing the size of the edition by adding extra volumes of works not by Saint-Evremond but attributed to him! The editor, Pierre des Maizeaux, who with Pierre Silvestre had brought out the first authentic London edition, for which he had even enlisted the help of the aged Saint-Evremond himself to separate the wheat from the chaff, now joined in this curious bit of "promotion," which would do credit to our latter-day hucksters. Gravely he decided that it would be right to include in this *Mélange curieux des meilleures pièces attribuées à M. de Saint-Evremond* only those items which our author himself, with great equanimity and probably not a little humour, had marked: "Point de moi, je voudrais qu'il en fût"; "Point de moi, mieux que je ne saurais faire"; "Point de moi, on me fait trop d'honneur."[4] Evidently, only those who wrote the better kind of "evremoniana" could hope to be included!

Saint-Evremond's *mansuétude* was not always so apparent. "Si vous connoissez Barbin," he writes to Ninon de Lanclos towards the end of the century (V, 401), "faites-lui demander pourquoi il imprime tant de choses sous mon Nom qui ne sont point de moi. J'ai assez de mes Sottises, sans me charger de celles des autres." But on the whole, few protests escape him; those we have are rather mild and usually written to his friends. Such forbearance is all the more remarkable when one considers the worthless material often attributed to him, not only in separate productions, but cheek by jowl with his own authentic work. For example, the 1692 quarto edition of his *Œuvres Meslées*—Oh exquisite adjective!—contains ("De la logique") what looks like a schoolboy's paraphrase of the four points of Descartes' *Méthode* together with ("De la philosophie morale") another paraphrase, equally dull, of his "morale provisoire." Sometimes the spurious inclusions are not only worthless, but inept: for example, this same edition of 1692 presents Saint-Evremond's article on Petronius and translation of the *Matron of Ephesus* with, immediately following, an apocryphal *Fragment de Pétrone sur l'éloquence* which likewise has its own translation of the *Matron*, but a completely different one!

Saint-Evremond himself was partly to blame for the entire situation. It would have been far easier, on the whole, if instead of voicing an occasional complaint or disavowing a particular edition, he had furnished booksellers with authentic copies of his works as they came from his pen. There is something disquieting in a man who never puts his cards on the table, who never says: "Here is what I have written, in

exactly the form it must have," but who chooses instead, during thirty-five years, to let the reading public dangle in uncertainty. Can his attitude be defended, or at least explained?

Saint-Evremond was a nobleman, living in an age noted for aristocratic *originaux* and belonging to the last generation of France's unruly, independent-minded lords, who wielded the foil with far greater ease than the pen. Perhaps, like most of these noblemen, Saint-Evremond felt that the pursuit of writing was not quite consonant with the life of a gentleman. It was all very well in a salon to indulge in witty, even learned, discourses; one somehow lost caste by writing them down in a book, which anyone might read. The rabble's scorn was a matter of indifference to the aristocrat; the thought of its admiration was intolerable.

There was little more likelihood that an army man would take up writing, however much of his spare time might be spent in reading and study. Saint-Evremond was a true career officer. He joined the army at 16, fought at Landrecies, Arras, Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen, in Spain and in Flanders; he was, for a time, very close to Condé and an officer in his Guards; and in 1652, at the age of 38, he was made a Maréchal de Camp (roughly the equivalent of Major-General). However, the Peace of the Pyrenees, and exile two years later, put an end to this career.

Both noblemen and generals have been known to publish books, so that neither of the above arguments can be conclusive by itself; on the other hand, they cannot be dismissed lightly, and do assume significance when viewed in the light of Saint-Evremond's character and of certain statements made in his works. All these facts must be considered in trying to find the real reason for his lack of interest in having his works printed.

He appears to have been a man of singular reticence. His well-known letter to the Maréchal de Créqui speaks of people whose true characters are difficult to assess because they affect to play down their good qualities while having a certain complaisance for their faults: "C'est à votre discernement," he tells Créqui (III, 57), "à faire le choix qu'ils ne font pas, & il dépendra plus de votre adresse de tirer le bien qui se trouve en eux, qu'il ne leur sera facile de vous le donner." Saint-Evremond himself may have been just this sort of man. In any case, it is certain that he disliked speaking about himself generally. "Je ne prétens pas," he says (III, 1), "entretenir le Public de ce qui me regarde. Il importe peu aux Hommes de savoir mes Affaires et mes Disgrâces." Even in

his last years, at an age when most men can be excused if they indulge in reminiscences, he evaded others' attempts to pry into the facts of his life. He was, according to Des Maizeaux (I, *Vie*, 56), "l'homme du Monde qui aimoit le moins à parler de lui. Dès qu'il s'appercevoit qu'on vouloit le mettre sur quelque Evenement de sa Vie, il détournoit la Conversation ou bien il s'excusoit sur ce qu'il y avoit si longtems que ces choses-là étoient arrivées, qu'il ne s'en souvenoit plus."

There is also in him a certain egoism, the kind that helps a man to live by and for himself during almost ninety years, avoiding entanglements and generally everything that will curtail his freedom. He was an epicurean, one of the well-known gourmets of his time, with a tremendous love of life and a horror of privation, of asceticism, of mortification of the flesh. In a self-portrait[5] he calls himself a philosopher, moderate in all things, living according to nature. He was intent upon, and succeeded in, conserving to the very end a clear mind, a sound body, and a good appetite.

But not even an egoist suffices unto himself alone and therefore Saint-Evremond, like a true epicurean, laid great emphasis on friendship. The most attractive side of his personality is the constancy he showed in his personal relations. In fact, his story is in large measure the story of his friendships. They were responsible for his sorrows and his joys: friendship with Candale landed him in the Bastille, friendship with the entourage of Fouquet was the indirect cause of his exile; on the other hand he had years of relative happiness in the salon of the Duchesse Mazarin in London. His friendships, however, were calm and detached, born of mutual esteem rather than an inexplicable attraction, and shorn of every element of sacrifice. Let us avoid, he says (IV, 120),

> l'Assujettissement & la Liberté entière pour nous contenter d'une Liaison douce et honnête, aussi agréable à nos Amis qu'à nous-mêmes. Si on me demande plus que de la chaleur & des soins, pour les intérêts de ceux que j'aime; plus que mes petits secours, tout foibles qu'ils sont, dans les besoins; plus que la Discretion dans le Commerce, & le secret dans la Confidence; qu'on aille chercher ailleurs des Amitiés: la mienne ne sauroit fournir rien davantage.

If Saint-Evremond's friendships did not burn fiercely, they nevertheless glowed a long time; and their importance in his life can be measured by a simple glance at his complete works: almost one-third of them are friend-inspired—either as correspondence, or occasional poetry, or "conversation avec . . .," or essay topics suggested by, or inscribed to,

acquaintances.[6] A good number of the remainder, though not dedicated to anyone in particular, were obviously written for the enjoyment of friends.

Pierre Silvestre reports that one day Saint-Evremond, being told that the public did not approve of certain parts of his works, answered:

> Ce Public a tort. Quel droit prétend-il avoir sur mes Ecrits? Je n'ai jamais eu en veüe de lui plaire; je n'ai jamais recherché son approbation. Si j'ai écrit quelque chose, tantôt sur un sujet, tantôt sur un autre, ç'a été pour me divertir moi-même, ou pour la satisfaction de quelques Personnes qui m'honoroient de leur amitié, & avec qui j'étois en liaison.[7] Que le Public cesse donc de critiquer ce qui n'a point été fait pour lui. (I, Préf., 27)

With this "public be damned" attitude, would not Saint-Evremond have done better to cut out his friends altogether, and write for himself alone? No audience can be restricted to one or two people; either they are not impressed and return the manuscript—in which case there is no book at all—or else they are delighted and quite naturally wish to share their delight with others, who make it go still farther afield. Once Saint-Evremond allowed another person to see his work, it was inevitable that it should eventually reach a publisher. How ironical, that the persons for whom he wrote should have been precisely the ones who were responsible for letting the vulgar crowd see his writings!

It is inconceivable that Saint-Evremond could have been naïve in any way about what was happening. His correspondence with the Comte de Lionne (*c.* 1668) proves that he knew ahead of time that certain of his works were going to be printed. When the Duchesse de Bouillon in 1687 returned from visiting her sister the Duchesse Mazarin in England, she brought back to France a number of Saint-Evremond's manuscripts.[8] He must have known that they would eventually be published—but is not resignation the only recourse of a gallant man when confronted by beauty and determination? Madame de Bouillon, who had set up the cabal against Racine's *Phèdre*, lacked neither the one nor the other.

If Saint-Evremond was not at all interested in being known as an author of printed books, can we deduce from this that he cared little for the products of his pen? One might think so from the apparent carelessness with which he handled some of his manuscripts. In a letter to Lionne, written from England around 1671, speaking of such serious pieces as his *Observations sur nos Historiens, sur la Tragédie et sur la Comédie Espagnole, Française, Italienne, Angloise, sur l'Opéra*, etc. he says (III, 136): "Tout cela étoit fondé sur les différens Génies des

Nations: j'en ai perdu une partie, & l'autre est encore confuse." When, in 1680, Madame Mazarin asked to see his *Académistes* as he had first written it, he admitted to having lost his manuscript in France. Thus he was obliged to correct for her the first edition of 1650 (which he disavowed in its printed state): but after Madame Mazarin's curiosity had been satisfied, this second manuscript also went astray and might have been completely lost if Des Maizeaux had not ferreted it out twenty years later in the home of Madame Mazarin's copyist. Upon Saint-Evremond's being obliged to leave France in 1661, he left two volumes of manscripts with Turenne, but they were never recovered. Five years later, when he had left London to go to Holland, some of his writings, entrusted to Edmund Waller, were lost in the Great Fire. However, we must take care not to see necessarily, at least in these last two circumstances, a result of his lack of interest in his works: might these MSS not have been a *dépot sacré* in case something happened to him? In 1661 he did not know what awaited him in exile, and he left London when he might have been stricken by the plague he was trying to avoid.

Does Saint-Evremond himself voice an opinion about the value of his writings? If we were to take at their face-value the expressions that he uses with regard to his works, we should conclude they are no better than *bagatelles*—a word he employs on a number of occasions[9]—produced in moments of idleness and boredom, when he could not play chess or indulge in conversation with friends: "Je vous prierai," he writes to Lionne (II, 254), "de vous mocquer moins de moi par des louanges excessives que vous donnez à des Bagatelles. L'inutilité les a produites, & je n'en fais cas que par l'amusement qu'elles me donnent en des heures fort ennuyeuses." Written by one *honnête homme* to another, these words might not carry more weight than, say, the statement of Oronte in the *Misanthrope* when he claims to have spent only a quarter-hour in writing his famous sonnet. But when, twenty years later, Saint-Evremond writes in the same vein to a publisher (Barbin) for whom such "trifles" are his bread and butter, we must perforce pay a little more attention to his words: "Je vous suis fort obligé, Monsieur, de la bonne opinion que vous avez des Bagatelles qui me sont échapées, & qu'on a la bonté de nommer *Ouvrages*" (V, 339).

On the other hand, this deprecation of his own works, which seems almost too systematic not to be a kind of pose, is belied by the fact that Saint-Evremond thought highly enough of them to have copies carefully made and bound, with the intention of giving them as gifts to his most intimate friends. We can presuppose, when a work such as *Sur les Opéras*,

A Mr. le Duc de Buckingham, or *Observations sur Saluste et sur Tacite, A Monsieur Vossius*, is dedicated to a particular friend, that it was originally sent in a beautifully written and bound copy. There is some reason to suspect, for example, that the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS 15263), a handsome quarto now bearing the armorial stamp of the Marquis de Bonnac, may have been originally a present to Madame Mazarin from Saint-Evremond himself.[10] Some time before he died, he gave a large bound volume of his works to his friend and physician Pierre Silvestre, and another to Sidney Godolphin, Lord Treasurer of England.[11]

Saint-Evremond's homage to his friends was thus a far more extravagant gesture than is usually the case with authors, who are content to state their friendship on the flyleaf of a printed book; his homage lay in the text itself, not only composed, but also carefully copied, for the sole *destinataire*, a unique gift in that no two copies could be alike. Is it any wonder that he wrote to Madame Mazarin (V, 352): "Je suis le premier Auteur en Prose, Vers, et Musique qui se ruine en Copistes"? For our purposes, however, what is important here is that Saint-Evremond reserves, for his friends only, the correct texts that he refuses to give the public. The text would thus appear to be almost a collector's item, known in its original state only by a handful of intimates.

This hypothesis might seem like an unwarranted exaggeration, except for one statement, not in Saint-Evremond's works, but in unconnected notes taken by Des Maizeaux during one of his revision sessions with our author. The latter, speaking (July 5, 1702, fourteen months before his death) of a work or works of his, now probably impossible to identify, says: "Je voudrais qu'il me coutât 50 guinées & qu'on n'en eût jamais rien imprimé: (on se fait un plaisir secret d'avoir une chose que les autres n'ont pas)."[12] "Plaisir secret . . . chose que les autres n'ont pas!" This revealing admission adds a nuance to Saint-Evremond's disregard of the public. Keeping out the vulgar crowd is not only the independent, perhaps arrogant, gesture of a nobleman and a soldier; it is, over and above this, consonant with the enjoyment of highlighting in common with a select few something of value to the group itself, though not necessarily important to anyone else. Adhering to such principles, a writer of plays would of necessity refuse to have them put on the stage, since unproduced plays, like unpublished manuscripts, have a unique value which they lose when presented for anyone to enjoy, anyone who has the price of admission. Saint-Evremond shared his plays with his friends, even to the extent of having them as collaborators.[13] But his

sentiments towards the play-going public were the same as towards the public of readers: he refused point-blank when the French Ambassador Barillon offered him 400 crowns if he would allow his *Crisotine* to be put on in Paris.[14] Yet this was certainly not because of a fundamental lack of interest in the stage. He wrote a number of "scènes en musique," the producing of which (in private and at the Palace of St. James) must have occupied a considerable amount of his time; and if we are to believe the *Daily Courant* of July 22, 1710, an invention of his ("first contrived by Monsieur St. Everimont, which Represents a Suit of Hangings, which in an Instant is Transform'd to Men and Women") was still being used, seven years after his death, "at Mr. Penkethman's New Theatre in Greenwich."

Thus we have the picture of a man who writes, but who does not wish to be known as a writer. He appears to have a peculiar aversion from the word "auteur," which he takes in a pejorative sense, placing it on a level with "pédant."[15] It seems to conjure up in his mind the starving denizen of a garret, especially the scholiast enveloped in his work and a slave to it. It is, of course, simple for Saint-Evremond, the *grand seigneur* with an income, to disdain the reputation of being an "author," and during a long lifetime to affect indifference to literary glory. Though he does not find it easy to forego a certain pride of authorship, he nevertheless seems to enjoy the stand he has taken: "Qu'on se defait de l'Amour-propre difficilement! Je le quitte comme Auteur, je le reprens comme Philosophe; sentant une volupté secrète à négliger ce qui fait le soin de tous les autres." (V, 2)

Volupté secrète . . . was there just this? Did not Saint-Evremond's disregard for literary glory stem, at least in part, from a certain feeling of modesty? There is, fortunately, a passage (III, 50) in which Saint-Evremond shows that, far from thinking too highly of the products of his pen, he considers writing useful for two reasons. First, it is a way of knowing himself better:

> Je n'écris point ceci par un esprit de Vanité, qui porte les hommes à donner au Public leurs fantaisies. Je me sens en ce que je dis, et me connois mieux par l'expression du Sentiment que je forme de moi-même, que je ne ferois par des Pensées secrettes et des Réflexions intérieures. L'idée qu'on a de soi, par la simple attention, à se considérer au dedans, est toujours un peu confuse: l'image qui s'en exprime au dehors est beaucoup plus nette, et fait juger de nous plus sainement, quand elle repasse à l'examen de l'esprit, après s'être présentée à nos yeux.

It is also a means of keeping his vanity in check:

l'opinion flatteuse de notre Mérite perd la moitié de son charme si-tôt qu'elle se produit [i.e., in writing]: les complaisances de l'Amour-propre venant à s'évanouir insensiblement, il ne nous reste qu'un dégoût de sa douceur, & de la honte pour une Vanité aussi follement conçue que judicieusement quittée.

If writing is, then, for Saint-Evremond a kind of spiritual exercise, as well as communication with a highly restricted audience, is it not logical to expect him to pay scant attention to form? He seems, for example, to have been little drawn to the exacting work of composition. To Lionne he admits that his comments on the theatre were only "des Observations particulières, sans beaucoup de dessein & de régularité" (III, 136), and he writes to d'Olonne (I, 129): "Comme vous n'exigez pas de vos Amis une régularité qui les contraigne, je vous dis les Réflexions que j'ai faites sans aucun ordre, selon qu'elles viennent dans mon Esprit." Indeed, the hallmark of his writing seems to be freedom from constraint. In a century in which most of the great prose writers prefer periodic fulness and sinewy grace, his style has the casualness and rapidity of conversation. Seven years before the *Lettres provinciales*, Saint-Evremond occasionally writes in a manner that foreshadows the abruptness of Pascal's *Pensées*:

Les Dupes viennent là tous les jours en foule: les Proscrits, les Misérables s'y rendent des deux bouts du Monde: jamais tant d'entretiens de Générosité sans Honneur: jamais tant de beaux Discours, & si peu de Bon-sens: jamais tant de Desseins sans actions; tant d'Entreprises sans effets; toutes imaginations, toutes chimères; rien de véritable, rien d'essentiel, que la nécessité & la misère. (I, 53)

None the less, it would be over-simplification to see in Saint-Evremond's vigorous, straightforward style merely the result of a devil-may-care attitude towards fine writing, just as it is naïve to believe that La Fontaine wrote fables as easily as a tree bears fruit. Saint-Evremond's manner of writing is often no more casual than is the "casual" costume by an expert in *haute couture*. Silvestre tells us that he had become so skilled that writing cost him little effort, though his style was obviously a result of "travail" and "étude." Let us remember that the *honnête homme* of the time was, almost by definition, "celui qui ne se pique de rien." No man of taste and elegance, especially a nobleman, could bear the imputation of having paid too obvious homage to correctness as outlined in the rule-books, or given niggling attention to details. Such a procedure could be expected from an "author"—the kind who wrote what Verlaine in his *Art poétique* condescendingly calls "littérature." Saint-Evremond

was extremely impatient with the professional writer's stock in trade, hating *le style figuré* and avoiding classical allusions, clichés, and generally everything that smacked of over-ornamentation—it is not by chance that, in the most amply bewigged period in history he wore his own hair, and preferred a severely plain habit at a time when even Molière's Misanthrope was adorned with green ribbons. Thus, Saint-Evremond avoided too great uniformity in his way of writing, preferring to be thought careless and casual—was he not writing only for friends? —rather than risk the reputation of being subservient to mere correctness and conventionality. But it must be noticed that this course which Saint-Evremond followed suited his inclinations: in a letter to Lionne, he admits that an *épitre* of his has mistakes "que je pourrais corriger, si l'exactitude ne faisoit trop de peine à mon humeur, & ne consumoit trop de tems à une personne de mon âge" (IV, 108). His contemporaries were not unaware of his so-called errors. His style was attacked and defended—it is characteristic of Saint-Evremond that he was little touched by criticism and embarrassed by officious "apologies"; yet even his defenders were quick to point out that if he took liberties, he did so knowingly:

> Une régularité trop exacte dans le stile ne l'assujétit point. Ses paroles, ses tours de phrases, servent à l'élévation de ses pensées. Tout ploie sous la force et la liberté de son génie; & cela de bonne grâce, sans ride ni grimace. Pourquoi le venir chicaner sur les licences qu'il se donne ? & pourquoi aussi chercher à excuser ces licences ? Ce sont de vrayes licences, il le sait bien: mais il veut bien les prendre. Il pense comme il veut, & il écrit comme il pense. . . .[16]

It is interesting to note here that Saint-Evremond, when himself a critic, is generous regarding other writers' little carelessnesses, preferring to overlook these in a general feeling of admiration for their work:

> L'Elévation de l'Esprit laisse de petites choses en prise à l'exactitude de la Critique; & c'est une consolation que les grands Genies ne doivent pas envier aux médiocres. Que des malheureux à qui la Nature a été peu favorable, se fassent valoir comme ils pourront par le travail d'une étude si génante: pour moi, je me sens transporté avec plaisir à des endroits qui m'enlèvent; & mon Admiration ne laisse point de place au chagrin de la Censure. (IV, 102)

One inevitable problem comes to the fore. If Saint-Evremond is not interested in literary glory ("à l'âge où je suis, une heure de vie bien ménagée m'est bien plus considérable que l'intérêt d'une médiocre réputation"—V, 1), disregards public reaction to his works, is im-

patient with details, and counts on the indulgence of his friends to overlook his stylistic casualness, one hardly expects to find him interested in revising his works once the first copies of them were sent to his friends. Yet Silvestre assures us that he *did* go over them. A study of the changes in his text would certainly reveal to what extent he revised, recast, transposed. But since Saint-Evremond dissociated himself from all printed editions of his works, such a study would necessarily have to be based on manuscripts, either in Saint-Evremond's own hand or written by copyists working for him. Until these various manuscripts are dated, authenticated, and compared, we cannot be on sure ground when discussing Saint-Evremond's revisions. Temporarily, however, we can accept the statement of Silvestre that though Saint-Evremond often added to his text and sometimes cut it down, his first draft was often better than his revision. Certainly, the totally new version of the *Académistes* that he wrote at the request of Madame Mazarin thirty years later is not a great improvement: the change from five acts to three represents a gain in composition and smoothness, but this is largely offset by a loss in humour and vigour. Whatever Saint-Evremond's feelings regarding the necessity for correcting his writings, he definitely, as we have said, had no touchy vanity regarding them, and welcomed suggestions and criticisms:

> Jamais Homme ne fut moins entêté de ses Productions que M. de Saint-Evremond. Il étoit infiniment éloigné de l'humeur de ces Auteurs présomptueux, qui ne pouvant se persuader qu'il y ait des Défauts dans leurs Ouvrages, ne consultent personne, ou ne souffrent qu'impatiemment la Critique de leurs Amis, lorsque par Bienséance ils sont obligés de les consulter. Il écoutoit avec plaisir les Difficultés qu'on lui faisoit sur ses Ouvrages: Il souhaitoit qu'on lui fournît quelque chose de meilleur que ce que l'on reprenoit; & il ne manquoit pas de se corriger, lorsqu'il croyoit qu'on avoit mieux rencontré que lui. (I, *Vie*, 230)

It is doubtful whether Saint-Evremond ever faced the problem of his responsibility, if not towards the public, at least within the Republic of Letters. Whether or not he published his work, the fact remained that it existed and that, to use a Pascalian term, he was "embarqué": he *was* an author, in spite of himself. But he chose to remain on the fringe of the legend which his contemporaries conjured up of Saint-Evremond the writer, never becoming part of it but doubtless watching it with amusement; nothing is easier to believe of a man who, writing to a friend but in the name of Madame Mazarin, could say of himself: "Notre ami commun Monsieur de *Saint-Evremond* aime tant le Ridicule, qu'il se

plaît même à celui qu'on lui donne. . . . Toute malice qu'on exerce, fut-ce contre lui-même, lui est agréable: beau Naturel, qui s'est maintenu dans sa pureté quatre-vingt ans." (V, 351)

But let us put first things first. Saint-Evremond valued the conversation of *gens du monde* above everything. Failing that, he preferred to be with *savants* so long as their knowledge of literature was tempered with good taste and never degenerated into an "érudition fort ennuyeuse." Next came reading, when polite conversation was not to be had, and lastly, writing, to while away hours not otherwise employed:

> Je me fais un plaisir d'écrire
> Et non pas un attachement. (IV, 317)

It seems natural that he should have taken no particular pride in an occupation that held a minor place in his scale of values and which, being stressed, might have thrown off balance the well-ordered personality to which he as an *honnête homme* aspired.

When Madame Mazarin, who was the subject or the inspiration of more than a quarter of his literary output, asked him to write a *Jugement sur quelques auteurs françois* among whom he was to include himself, he discussed the merits of Malherbe, Voiture, Sarrazin, Benserade, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, La Fontaine, and Perrault, but characteristically managed to parry the question of himself by paying her a gracious compliment, which perfectly reflects this "auteur malgré lui":

> Vous voulez, Madame, que je parle de moi, & je vous parlerai de vous. Si quelqu'un de ces Messieurs avoit été en ma place pour vous voir tous les jours, & recevoir les lumières que vous inspirez, il auroit passé les Anciens et les Modernes. J'en ai profité si peu, que je ne mérite aucun rang parmi ces illustres. (V, 249)

What other reply could be expected from one who considered eight days of present good health worth more than eight centuries of posterity's good opinion?

NOTES

1 References in the text above and in the following notes are to the third edition of Saint-Evremond's complete works (called "authentic" because edited originally by his friends Pierre des Maizeaux and Pierre Silvestre in 1705): *Œuvres de Monsieur de Saint-Evremond, publiées sur les Manuscrits de l'Auteur: Nouvelle Edition Revue, Corrigée & Augmentée de la Vie de l'Auteur*; A Londres, [Paris]; Chez Jacob Tonson. . . . MDCCXI; 5 vols.; 12°.

2 Letter to Comte de Lionne. "Je n'ai jamais été si surpris que de voir vendre ici trois petits Livres, qu'on dit de moi, et qui s'impriment à *Amsterdam*. Il y a environ vingt ans que je fis de petits Discours sur les Maximes qui sont dans ces petits Livres-là: je ne sais qui les a pu avoir." (III, 31)

3 René Ternois, "Lettres inédites de Saint-Evremond," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1933), p. 257.

4 From Des Maizeaux's preface (dated Nov. 7, 1725) to the 4th edition of the *Mélange*.

5 Letter to Grammont, V, 342.

6 The outstanding example of the latter is the *A M. le Maréchal de Créqui, qui m'avoit demandé en quelle situation étoit mon Esprit, & ce que je pensois sur toutes choses dans ma Vieillesse*, which is 52 pages long.

7 Saint-Evremond had as a life-long friend Edmund Waller, the ninth edition of whose *Poems* speaks of the "affinity there was between Mr. Waller's genius and his." It is therefore interesting to note that Waller wrote his poems "only to please himself and such Particular Persons to whom they were addressed" and "coveted no Reputation this way, that might lay the least Restraint upon his Inclinations" (pp. A2 and L11).

8 Vigneul-Marville, *Mélange d'histoire et de littérature*, I (1700), 285.

9 II, 257, 289, 291; III, 135. See *Rev. d'hist. litt.* (1922), p. 397; (1933), p. 254. Saint-Evremond also calls them "sottises" (V, 401) and "ces petits écrits" (V, 410).

10 The first item is precisely a letter addressed to her, beginning "Si vous trouvez des Extravagances dans le petit Livre que je vous envoye. . . ." Since Saint-Evremond scorned all the printed editions of his works, the "petit Livre" must of necessity have been a bound manuscript copy of some of his writings. The letter itself is a tongue-in-cheek declaration of love, and may have served as the actual inscription to Madame Mazarin of the entire volume. It is of course not a little book, but a thick quarto. Different copyists worked on it. Internal evidence points to its having been put together in 1687 or after.

11 The first of these has never been identified. It may originally have been item 133 (*Œuvres de St. Evremond*) of *Bibliotheca Sylvestriana*, catalogue of the books of Pierre Silvestre sold after his death, on June 25–26, 1718. The "Godolphin" MS (at present in the possession of Mr. John Hayward, who has probably one of the largest Saint-Evremond collections in existence) bears the only known MS corrections by Saint-Evremond, most of them written in a very shaky hand. Des Maizeaux and Silvestre took them into account in preparing the edition of 1705.

12 Des Maizeaux Papers, British Museum, MS 4470, f. 47, unpublished.

13 In writing *Les Académistes*, he was supposedly helped by the Comte d'Etlan. The Duke of Buckingham and Louis Stuart d'Aubigny furnished material for *Sir Politick Would-Be*.

14 British Museum, MS 4470, f. 38b. *Crisotine* may have been the original title of *Les Opéras*. Cf. I, *Vie*, 219.

15 He writes to Lionne that, in France, "l'on ne saurait beaucoup et fort bien écrire, sans passer pour un Pédant, ou pour un Auteur" (II, 289).

16 Vigneul-Marville, *Mélange d'histoire et de littérature*, III (1701), 272.

Theme and Pattern in *Paradise Regained*

A. S. P. Woodhouse

Paradise Regained has been thought of as the necessary sequel to *Paradise Lost*, and again as no sequel at all. That it is not a necessary sequel is clear from the fact that the scheme of salvation is set forth in *Paradise Lost*, whose subject, the Fall, is thus presented, according to the Christian view, as a tragic episode in a divine comedy. But it is a mistake to infer that *Paradise Regained* bears no direct relation to *Paradise Lost*. Its pattern is of a different order and self-contained, but is not therefore independent. Milton rejected the obvious possibility of a sequel which should treat the drama of Redemption at comparable length with the drama of the Fall. He sought instead in Christ's life on earth the single episode which most closely paralleled, and contrasted with, the crisis of the earlier epic, and this clearly was the Temptation in the Wilderness, where Satan attacked the Second Adam and met, instead of his former victory, defeat. That is the essential relation of *Paradise Regained* to *Paradise Lost*.

The restricted subject had still the merit of allowing Milton to take up and develop from *Paradise Lost* two ideas which were fundamental but could not be fully illustrated there: the idea of obedience to God as the beginning and end of virtue, and the idea of Christian heroism as something new and distinctive, different not simply in degree, but in kind, from every other. These two ideas are embodied in the Christ of *Paradise Regained*, and the whole poem may be thought of as an elaboration of the words of Adam, repentant and now illuminated by his prophetic vision:

> Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
> And love with fear the only God, to walk
> As in his presence, ever to observe
> His providence, and on him sole depend,

> Merciful over all his works, with good
> Still overcoming evil, and by small
> Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
> Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
> By simply meek; that suffering for Truth's sake
> Is fortitude to highest victory,
> And to the faithful death the gate of life:
> Taught this by his example whom I now
> Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.

That Christian heroism is central to both epics, yet in such different ways, is characteristic of the relation between them. In *Paradise Lost* Christian heroism in its active aspect is presented in contrast to the pagan and diabolic. In *Paradise Regained*, passion (in its root meaning) is the prevailing note. It is passion, not contemplation, that is opposed to action, for Christ, as we shall see, rejects two temptations which are contemplative in character, as well as a whole series that involve action. True the hero's passivity, as Christ makes plain when reproached by Satan, is no final rejection of action as such, merely a patient waiting on God's time. But the waiting is a period of passion. Before he enters the wilderness the Redeemer already knows that he must endure "many a hard assay, even to the death," ere he can come into his kingdom; and the experience of the temptations deepens his sense of this fact and its meaning. Though Milton rejected the more obvious choice of the Crucifixion as the subject of his poem, the idea of exaltation through humiliation and suffering is an important part of its theme and woven into its pattern.

It is characteristic of Milton's practice, that having selected his subject, he should think of its treatment in terms of genre, that is, should reach out for a traditional form, which he would then feel free to adapt in whatever way subject and theme required. While exploring the possibility of different forms for his *magnum opus*, he had hit on the idea that a model for a brief epic might be found in the Book of Job, which had been so designated by St. Jerome and others; and to this model he now turned. It is of course not epic in structure, but a dialogue set in a framework of narrative. The dialogue form Milton uses for the series of encounters between Satan and Christ. These again are not epic, being almost devoid of action, but neither (it should be observed) are the corresponding portions of *Paradise Lost*, and for the subjects of both poems Milton makes the same claim: they are "not less but more heroic" than those of the ancient epics; they are "above heroic." At the same time, he is careful to supply in the other parts of *Paradise Lost* all the elements

of epic, and in *Paradise Regained* he turns the narrative framework, considerably expanded, in part to this same purpose. But here a peculiarity of the brief epic as Milton adapts it must be noticed. At the principal point of contact with *Paradise Lost*, namely in the temptation, he amplifies to the full. Elsewhere, in the celestial and Satanic strategies and counsels, he supplies merely syncopated and, as it were, token parallels with *Paradise Lost*; but these he does supply, and unexpectedly reinforces them when, in the description of Rome in the temptation of the kingdoms, he returns to the manner of Adam's vision, and further seizes the opportunity of introducing a martial note in depicting the might of Rome and of Parthia. This and much else strongly substantiates our assertion that *Paradise Regained* is conceived as a sequel to *Paradise Lost*.

II

Considered in itself the structural pattern of *Paradise Regained* presents points of special interest. The New Testament, it will be recalled, contains two detailed accounts of the Temptation in the Wilderness; and it is instructive to watch Milton making his selections from them. He recognizes the superior degree of concentration and finality in St. Matthew's account, which places the temptations after the forty days of fasting in the desert, makes Satan's defeat and withdrawal permanent, and concludes with the ministering angels, a detail for which Milton has a special use. But in the yet more important matter of the order of the temptations he departs from the tradition at once of previous commentators and artists by following St. Luke; and the reasons are significant.

In St. Matthew the three temptations are for Christ (1) to turn the stones of the desert to bread, (2) to cast himself down from a pinnacle of the Temple, (3) to accept from Satan the kingdoms of the world. In St. Luke the order of the latter two is reversed. It is evident that the last temptation in St. Matthew's order, the temptation of the kingdoms, might have been made to furnish some sort of climax, but not as Milton proposed to treat it, that is, with an elaboration which had its own function, artistic and doctrinal, but which militated strongly against the effect of climax. The temptation of the Temple, on the other hand, the last in St. Luke's order, furnished in Milton's brief but impressive treatment exactly the climax required. In addition, however, to this matter of progression towards a climax, the balance of Milton's pattern demanded the choice he made. For his plan was to treat the temptation of bread and the temptation of the Temple with something approaching

the brevity of the scriptural accounts, but (as we have implied) to elaborate the temptation of the kingdoms by breaking it down into a series of incitements to the pursuit of worldly glory in its various forms—the glory of beauty, fame, wealth, power, and knowledge; and to have carried out this plan while adopting St. Matthew's order would have thrown the whole poem off balance, or have made the other two temptations a mere prelude to the temptation of the kingdoms. There was, however, a third reason for adopting St. Luke's order, and a compelling one. Beside its primary theme of Christ as the Second Adam, *Paradise Regained* has a secondary theme, namely, the nature and office of the Son of God, significantly mentioned in the prelude. Throughout the poem this theme gets its recognition both in Satan's motives and in Christ's response, but in the final temptation the secondary theme comes forward and assumes the centre of the stage. This is the third and compelling reason for Milton's adoption of St. Luke's order.

From what has been said so far of the structural pattern of *Paradise Regained*, it must be evident that it is marked by a very high degree of balance and symmetry. And this impression is strongly confirmed as we observe how the balance, so carefully maintained in the placing of the second and composite temptation of the kingdoms, extends to the internal structure, with the temptations to the active pursuit of glory framed by two which are contemplative rather than active in character, and when we further observe that the first temptation, to distrust, is balanced by the third, to presumption, the extreme of defect balanced by the extreme of excess.

Indeed, if one relied merely upon a structural analysis of the poem one might suspect that the symmetry was too emphatic and ran some danger of becoming mechanical in its effect. But this danger Milton countered by a simple device—simple once you have recognized it. I confess that I had read *Paradise Regained* a good many times before I did so—had read it and puzzled over the principle, if any, on which it was divided into four books. For the division appeared to be entirely arbitrary, with nothing of the reason, approaching inevitability, that divides *Paradise Lost* (in its revised form) into twelve. Almost it looked as if the fourfold division had no other purpose than to measure off in sections of comparable length a poem short enough to be read at a sitting. The significant breaks are not at the endings of books but between the three temptations, and these are marked by the falling of night and dawning of a new day with the return of Satan in a fresh guise. Book I ends with the falling of night after the first temptation, but the description of night and the new dawn is postponed till we are half way through the second

book. The rest of this book, the whole of Book III and the first two-thirds of Book IV go to the elaborated second temptation ere night again falls and with the dawn Satan returns for his final effort. But this staggered effect (for the modern phrase exactly describes it) is clearly deliberate. It partially conceals, without breaking, the symmetry of the pattern and allows that symmetry to impress itself gradually upon the attentive reader. Moreover, the first two books with their frequent change of scene differ markedly from the latter two, where poet and reader never once quit the presence of Christ. These are points of pure technique: they belong to the pattern, not to the theme; but nothing could better demonstrate Milton's sensitivity and his conscious artistry in elaborating an aesthetic pattern.

It is seldom profitable, however, to consider (as momentarily here) Milton's patterns without reference to the themes which they support and advance. And with theme and pattern must be reunited such other elements as criticism may temporarily disengage; action, character, setting, imagery, whatever they may be.

III

The prelude clearly formulates the two themes: the primary theme of Christ, the Second Adam, directly, in the statement of the subject; the secondary theme indirectly, in the invocation to the Spirit who led Christ into the desert and brought him thence "By proof the undoubted Son of God." By proof to whom? we naturally ask. To Satan, as the poem makes manifest, but also to Christ himself, as it invites us to infer.

To the secondary theme is attached such character interest as the poem possesses, and there is more than is often allowed. In the first council of the demons Satan poses the question:

> His First-begot we know, and sore have felt
> When his fierce thunder drove us to the Deep;
> Who this is, we must learn; for man he seems
> . . . though in his face
> The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.

There is some support for this Satanic motive in traditional commentary. Satan, it was argued, was in doubt as to Christ's identity and whether (as one contemporary phrased it) he was "Son of God by nature" or merely perfect man and God's "adopted son by grace," though a second interpretation insisted that Satan well knew his adversary and persisted in his hopeless effort against him from impotent malice and sheer despair. Critics have usually assumed that Milton adopted the first alternative and with it the necessity of making Christ fence with Satan and deny

him the proof which he sought. But this leaves much in the text unexplained—Christ's reply, for example, to the first temptation:

> Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,
> *Knowing who I am*, as I know who thou art?

It also does too little justice to the characterization; and it fails to fathom the nature of a Satanic doubt.

Though shorn of his grandeur (all of which he had in fact lost by the end of the earlier epic) the Satan of *Paradise Regained* is the same character as the Satan of *Paradise Lost*. He is the great romantic, the rebel not only against God, but against fact, who cannot bring himself to accept his place in the scale of being or to act upon what in his heart he knows to be the truth (that is the whole purport of the great soliloquy in Book IV of *Paradise Lost*, which a century of criticism has obscured). And in *Paradise Regained* Satan's doubt respecting Christ is at once real and unreal. It is an assiduously fostered doubt because he will not let himself acknowledge the truth; and yet the doubt torments him. He would give anything to have it confirmed, or (failing that) to receive proof so categorical as to destroy it forever. As the poem proceeds, he returns to this doubt—Christ, indeed, is withstanding every temptation, but as perfect man, "For Son of God to me is yet in doubt." And, for the title, it

> bears no single sense. . . .
> The son of God I also am or was,
> And if I was I am.

He clings to the doubt, but patently with diminishing conviction and mounting despair. And yet despair is, in a way, Satan's native element:

> . . . all hope is lost
> Of my reception into grace: what worse?
> For where no hope is left, is left no fear. . . .
> I would be at the worst: worst is my port,
> My harbour and my ultimate repose,
> The end I would attain, my final good.

This is the very note of the great soliloquy, and Satan's assertion is not unjustified:

> 'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate
> Who, leagued with millions more in rash revolt,
> Kept not my happy station.

One does well to remember this essential identity with the Satan of *Paradise Lost* when one seeks to appraise his motives.

Nor do I find any reliable evidence that the Christ of *Paradise Re-*

gained tries to conceal his own identity. It is Satan who goes in for disguises, not Christ. There is a simpler and sounder explanation of Christ's words, namely, that from the experience in the wilderness he himself is gaining a progressively deeper insight into his own nature as well as into God's purpose, and a progressively strengthened conviction. This is a bold conception for the seventeenth century, and it is not surprising if Milton allows it to be borne in upon the reader rather than stating it in so many words; but woven into the texture of the poem there is a great deal to support such an interpretation.

There are, clearly, two terminal conceptions of Christ's nature and office: the Jewish conception of the Messiah, held (as we are shown) by his first followers, who are typical of their race and age, and the Christian (or, to speak more precisely, the Miltonic) conception on which the poem ends. When, after his baptism, he is led by the Spirit and his own deep thought into the wilderness, the Redeemer has already, through the teaching of his mother and his meditations on prophecy, got well beyond the simple Messianic conception, though he still expects further light. The soliloquy in which he is introduced tells us this, and much beside. Like the best dramatic soliloquies, it represents, not words uttered, but the stream of thought passing through the mind; and, like the best dramatic exposition, it lays a foundation for all that is to follow.

> O what a multitude of thoughts at once
> Awakened in me swarm, while I consider
> What from within I feel myself, and hear
> What from without comes often to my ears,
> Ill sorting with my present state compared.
> When I was yet a child no childish play
> To me was pleasing. All my mind was set
> Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
> What might be public good; myself I thought
> Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
> All righteous things. Therefore above my years
> The Law of God I read . . .
> Made it my sole delight and in it grew. . . .
> Yet this not all
> To which my spirit aspired; victorious deeds
> Flamed in my heart, heroic acts: one while
> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
> Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
> Brute violence and proud tyrannic power
> Till truth were freed and equity restored:
> Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
> By winning words to conquer willing hearts

> And make persuasion do the work of fear,
> At least to try. . . .
> These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving
> . . . inly rejoiced
> And said to me apart, "High are thy thoughts
> O Son; but nourish them and let them soar
> To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
> Can raise them, though above example high:
> By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire. . . ."
> This having heard, straight I again resolved
> The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
> Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
> Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
> I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
> Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
> Ere I the promised kingdom can attain
> Or work redemption for mankind. . . .
> Yet neither thus disheartened nor dismayed,
> The time prefixt I waited. . . .

And so on to John's baptism and the voice from Heaven.

> And now by some strong motion I am led
> Into this wilderness, to what intent
> I learn not yet, perhaps I need not know;
> For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

These concluding words are surely a directive how to read the experience on which the hero is about to enter: its purpose is revelation. The words also epitomize what is to be Christ's unshakable position throughout the ordeal: a position of absolute obedience and complete trust. And the two things taken together bring into relief an essential feature of the pattern of *Paradise Regained*, namely, the combination of two elements, the one static, the other progressive, and the dependence of pattern at this point wholly upon theme. But this does not exhaust the significance of the soliloquy. For it presently appears that Satan, like Christ's followers, assumes the common conception of the Messianic mission, which Christ has already outgrown, but that, when he seeks to utilize it in the temptations, he is at least appealing to motives and emotions which Christ once entertained. This is typical of the close integration and artistic economy which mark the whole poem.

IV

Immediately after the soliloquy comes the first temptation, and with it the primary theme of Christ as the Second Adam gets under way.

Recent scholarship has dwelt on the long tradition of commentary, patristic, scholastic, and Protestant, which lies behind Milton's treatment, but the attempt to show that he drew largely upon this tradition remains somewhat unconvincing. For the earlier commentators, not content (as Milton generally is) with the simple contrast between Christ's obedience and the disobedience of our first parents, sought to parallel the two temptations step by step and to plot them in an ascending scale of flesh, world, and devil, and this with a cheerful disregard of the order adopted, St. Matthew's or St. Luke's. "Here," said Calvin, in curt dismissal, "the ancients amused themselves with ingenious trifles." We may be sure that Milton, who likewise insisted on the words of scripture and their rational interpretation, would agree. Such parallels as he suggests are all with his own account of the earlier temptation in *Paradise Lost*, and these on occasion carry him outside the tradition altogether. For example, finding nothing to correspond to the predicament of his own Adam "fondly overcome by female charm," he has Belial propose, "Set women in his eye and in his walk," only to be rebuked by Satan for stupidity. But these are embellishments. The interpretation which Milton adopts as basic is the simplest current among Protestant theologians in his day, namely, that the first temptation is to distrust of God's providence, the second (of the kingdoms) to the glory of this world, the third to presumption.

Like Calvin, Milton rejects the notion, superficial as well as ascetic, that Christ's first temptation is to satisfy his natural hunger. Christ's hunger is the occasion of the temptation: its essence, as Satan presents it and Christ rejects, is distrust: "Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust?" It is the temptation to take matters into his own hands, to save himself, not waiting upon God. This plain case conveys a valuable hint for the interpretation of the offer of the kingdoms. Like the apple in Eden the things offered are in themselves indifferent: they become evil in a religious sense only as they are preferred to obedience to God. For the rest, like all indifferent things, their use is governed by natural ethics and common prudence, and in this relation Christ comments upon them. In other ways the first temptation prepares for the second; for that too entails the taking of matters into his own hands, not to save himself, but to ensure the success of his Messianic mission. And since this in turn involves a degree of presumption, it points on to the third temptation, which stands in patterned contrast to the first.

For Milton the essence of the second temptation resides in the word *glory* common to both accounts and the word *power* found in St. Luke's;

and having discovered it, he is ready to amplify four verses of scripture into over one thousand lines, in the interests of his theme and pattern. So he surrounds the offer of power and its glory with other examples. The glory of wealth and of fame lead up to the glory of power, all presented under the specious colouring of means to establish Christ's Messianic kingdom. But Milton does not stop there. He frames these temptations to the active pursuit of glory with two others which are, as we have said, contemplative in character: the glory of beauty or of the senses, and the glory of knowledge or of the intellect, thus running the whole gamut of worldly glory as conceived by the Renaissance man.

Once more Satan seeks his point of departure in Christ's hunger, and the form which the first temptation in the new series takes is a banquet, but one surrounded—and this is the point emphasized—by every accompaniment of beauty and every enticement to sensuous delight:

> A table richly spread in regal mode
> With dishes piled and meats of noblest sort
> And savour. . . .
> Alas, how simple, to these cates compared,
> Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!

The gorgeous description culminates with nymphs that seemed

> Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since
> Of fairy damsels met in forest wide
> By knights of Logres or of Lyones. . . .
> And all the while harmonious airs were heard,
> Of chiming strings or charming pipes, and winds
> Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fanned. . . .
> *Such was the splendour.*

Then on through the offers of wealth, of fame, of power in its cruder military form, attained through alliance with Parthia, to the seeming climax, power in its plenitude set forth in the magnificent panorama of imperial Rome.

I say, the seeming climax; for when Christ has rejected the grandeur that is Rome, Satan suddenly confronts him with the glory that was Greece:

> Behold
> Where on the Aegean shore a city stands
> Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil:
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence. . . .
> See there the olive grove of Academe,
> Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
> Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long:

There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls
His whispering stream. Within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages: his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next.
There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony. . . .

And so on, through the famous roll-call of the glories of Greek philosophy and poetry, with emphasis always on the knowledge and wisdom they enshrine, to the conclusion:

These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thyself—much more with empire joined.

Beside the obvious contrast of Athens, the symbol of knowledge, with Rome, the symbol of power, observe how the last in the series of temptations balances the first, the banquet scene. For both are in essence contemplative, yet one moves on the level of the senses, the other on the level of the intelligence; and if the banquet by contrast reminded the poet of Eve and the apple, Milton can now trust the reader to remember that the apple was in reality the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Yes, but can he trust the reader to cast his mind back over eight hundred lines to the banquet scene? Perhaps not; and so in the Roman panorama, which precedes the Athenian, he introduces in the words of Christ a palpable reminiscence, a reminder to the reader, of the earlier temptation. There is no more characteristic and revealing example of Milton's artistry than this.

V

To the consternation of many a reader, Christ's rejection of Athens is complete. "Think not but that I know these things," he says, "or think I know them not":

He who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But these are false or little else but dreams. . . .
The first and wisest of them all professed
To know this only, that he nothing knew [Socrates];
The next [Plato] to fabling fell and smooth conceits;
A third sort doubted all things. . . .
Others in virtue placed felicity,
But virtue joined with riches and long life [Aristotle];
In corporal pleasure he [the Epicurean] and careless ease;

> The Stoic last, in philosophic pride,
> By him called virtue, and his virtuous man,
> Wise, perfect in himself . . .
> [and thence] contemning
> Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life. . . .
> Alas, what can they teach and not mislead,
> Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
> And how the world began and how man fell
> Degraded by himself, on grace depending?

Nothing, in short, can they teach,

> Unless where moral virtue is exprest
> By light of nature, not in all quite lost.

Nor does Christ stop here: with equal decision he goes on to depress all Greek poetry and eloquence below those of the Old Testament.

No re-examination of the poem can refuse the challenge of these lines: they must be explained, and neither ignored nor explained away.

One must remember of course that all Satan's gifts and suggestions are offered with evil intent, to betray Christ, in one way or other, into disobedience to God. Even though what was offered were in itself a thing indifferent, like the apple in Eden, it would become evil in the circumstances as it came into competition with obedience to God; this fact alone would be sufficient to account for Christ's rejection of the proffered gift of knowledge, but not for the extremity or the terms of the rejection. Is Christ, then, rejecting all secular knowledge and art as in themselves worthless? Not necessarily, though it must be admitted that his tactic throughout the debate is to call in question the intrinsic worth of Satan's proffered gifts, and this indeed is an extreme example of his doing so. But there is an implied qualification: secular knowledge is of little worth when compared with divine revelation, and positively delusive when it trenches on questions that only revealed religion can answer.

In the earlier temptation of the banquet, which turns, as we saw, on the glory of beauty, an analogous question arises (Is Christ rejecting beauty as worthless or evil?) and it receives a partial and oblique answer. Immediately preceding the banquet scene is one of the very few descriptions of natural beauty which the poem contains. It commences with morning and the song of the lark; and then from an eminence Christ beheld

> a pleasant grove,
> With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud;
> Thither he bent his way, determined there
> To rest at noon, and entered soon the shade

> High-rooft, and walks beneath, and alleys brown
> That opened in the midst a woody scene;
> Nature's own work it seemed—nature taught art,
> And to a superstitious eye the haunt
> Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs. He viewed it round. . . .

The point is that Christ accepts this scene of natural beauty just before he rejects the splendours of the banquet speciously offered as homage from the powers of nature, but really of Satan's procuring and destined to vanish "With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard."[2] As in *Comus*, it is not beauty that is condemned, not natural beauty in its appointed place, but beauty in the service of evil and, specifically, in competition with obedience to God. And actually there is some parallel for this in Christ's attitude to knowledge. For if he here rejects secular wisdom and natural ethics, he has often referred to them for a judgment on Satan's other offers. Nor should we forget the earlier citation of Socrates: made memorable next to Job,

> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance, . . .
> By what he taught and suffered for so doing,
> For truth's sake suffering death unjust. . . .

The suggestion of a pagan approximation to Christian heroism can hardly be accidental.

Yet when all is said, a large residuum is left unexplained, which only history can explain. Christian humanism was a synthesis of the classical inheritance and the Christian, attempted under the aegis of Christianity. One need go no farther afield than Erasmus to get an idea of what this involved or to recognize an anticipation of Milton. Some things, says Erasmus in the *Enchiridion*, are in their nature good, others evil; many, however, "are mediate, such as health, beauty, strength, eloquence, learning." Of these none should be sought on its own account but only "as it conduces to the highest good"—only as "it helps those who are going forward towards Christ," and in this light "it should be instantly accepted or rejected." "You love letters? Rightly, if for Christ's sake. But if you love them only that you may know, you have stopped where you ought to take a further step." And again, in the *Education of a Christian Prince*: "He whom you read is a pagan; you are a Christian. Measure everything by the standard of Christ." Far more often than many writers on Christian humanism will allow, tensions between the two elements in the synthesis emerge, and the Christian supremacy issues in a partial repudiation of classical humanism. We see it in the later life and writings of Michelangelo; we see it in Spenser's *Fowre*

Hymnes; and beyond all doubt we see it in *Paradise Regained*, where the phenomenon is intensified by Milton's Puritanism and by the drastic reappraisal of values which appears to have followed the Restoration and the collapse of all his hopes.

Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we infer that what Milton wishes to enjoin is that (as Erasmus says) things indifferent should not be pursued for their own sake but only as they conduce to the service of God, and, beyond this, that we should be *willing* to sacrifice them, and every other treasured possession, to that service. Plainly, the classics have not ceased to influence Milton's thought and art. The Christ of *Paradise Regained* is in effect a Christian version of Aristotle's temperate man, and of his magnanimous man as well. The mark of the temperate man is that he has reached a state of security where what is evil has no power to attract him: he cannot really be tempted in the full meaning of the word. And so it is with Christ. Satan proposes and Christ rejects: that is all. The fact is undeniable, and must be accepted by the reader though it severely restricts the possibility of interest in action and in character. The mark of the magnanimous man is that he knows himself to be equal to every situation, and is so; and here again the description is wholly applicable to the Christ of *Paradise Regained*. But how then does he differ from the temperate man and the magnanimous man of Aristotle; and how can he be said to represent a Christian version of the virtues? Obviously the difference lies in the religious motivation, in Christ's being not self-centred but God-centred, and in the resulting union of humility with magnanimity.

VI

Now the pattern approaches its conclusion. The final temptation, the temptation of the Temple, is (like the first temptation) briefly presented; and here, as we have said, the secondary theme comes forward and assumes the centre of the stage. Ostensibly a temptation to presumption, it is really Satan's last desperate effort to resolve, one way or other, the question that still plagues him, "For Son of God to me is yet in doubt." He has tempted Christ and found him

> Proof against all temptation, as a rock
> Of adamant, and as a centre, firm;
> To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
> Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
> Have been before contemned and may again.
> Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
> Worth naming Son of God by voice from heaven,
> Another method now I must begin.

The method is to place Christ on the dizzy pinnacle of the Temple:

> There stand if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
> Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
> Have brought thee, and highest placed: highest is best.
> Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,
> Cast thyself down: safely if Son of God,
> For it is written, "He will give command
> Concerning thee to his angels, in their hands
> They shall uplift thee, lest at any time
> Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."
> To whom thus Jesus: "Also it is written,
> Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said and stood.
> But Satan smitten with amazement fell.

It is easy to miss the full drama and the irony concentrated in these few lines. Satan's intention is that Christ shall fall and the result will answer his question. His injunction to stand is purely ironical: that it is possible, he never for a moment conceives. But if Satan can be ironical, so can Christ and the event. For the first and only time, he complies with Satan's suggestion; but it is not in surrender to Satan: it is in obedience to God—like Samson's going to the festival of Dagon. This is Christ's supreme act of obedience and trust, and it is also the long-awaited demonstration of divinity. The poem's two themes are finally and securely united; and "Tempt not the Lord thy God" carries a double meaning, for, in addition to its immediate application, it is Christ's first claim to participate in the Godhead. In an instant, and by the same event, Satan receives his answer and Christ achieves full knowledge of himself.

A poet less deeply grounded in classical form and effect might well have ended on this note of climax. Instead, Milton completes his pattern and proceeds to the quiet ending which that pattern and the parallel with *Paradise Lost* alike demand. The ministering angels balance the earlier banquet scene and to its contrast of Satanic beauty with natural add a third element, namely, heavenly beauty. The angels' song confirms Christ's divinity, newly apprehended but enjoyed from of old:

> True Image of the Father, whether throned
> In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
> Conceiving, or remote from heaven, enshrined
> In fleshy tabernacle and human form,
> Wandering the wilderness—

always and everywhere, Christ is the True Image of the Father. He defeated Satan and drove him from heaven; again he has defeated him,

by vanquishing temptation, has "avenged Supplanted Adam" and "regained lost Paradise":

> on thy glorious work
> Now enter and begin to save mankind.

And, secure in the knowledge of his nature and his mission, the Redeemer "Home to his mother's house private returned."

Why to his *mother's* house? Because this also completes a pattern. The final accent, like the first, is on the humanity of Christ. But more than that: this is the third mention of Mary. She it was who had helped her son to his first conception of his nature and mission, and now, the revelation completed, he returns to her. But between these two events Mary herself has been introduced, realizing in her own person the essence of Christian heroism—the heroism exemplified by Christ:

> This is my favoured lot,
> My exaltation to afflictions high;
> Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest:
> I will not argue that, nor will repine.

We are meant to remember these words also as we read the final line of the poem.

NOTES

1 This paper was delivered as a public lecture in University College in October 1954. It assumes nothing but a knowledge of the text of the poem, and enters neither into the question of Milton's Arianism and its bearing upon his treatment of the central figure nor into the place of the poem in Milton's aesthetic and religious experience, subjects reserved for later treatment in relation to what is here set down. It likewise avoids controversy with former critics. The only specific debts of which I am conscious are to Miss Pope's *Paradise Regained, the Tradition and the Poem* for one quotation, from Edward Leigh, and to Professor A. H. Gilbert's "The Temptation in *Paradise Regained*" for the emphasis on the second temptation as a series of incitements to worldly glory. The informed reader will recognize the reaffirmation, in a new context, of two or three interpretations already established by Professors M. Y. Hughes or W. G. Rice in their admirable essays on the poem. The quotations in general adopt modern spelling, and all italics are mine.

2 I am well aware that this interpretation is not without its difficulty, caused by the ambiguous line, "Nature's own work it seemed—nature taught art." Taken by itself, the implication seems to be that this is not natural beauty (as is the beauty of the morning, just described) but art imitating nature—and art imitating nature in order to deceive has (especially in Spenser) evil implications. On the other hand, it must be observed: (i) that the lines immediately following indicate the circumstance in which the scene might prove deceptive and evil, namely, "to a superstitious eye"; (ii) that, not the scene of beauty, but only the banquet which Satan presents in this setting, vanishes "With sound of harpies' wings"; and (iii), most important, Christ (who is never deceived) accepts the scene as beauty, in other words, as a thing indifferent—good if put to good use as he intends, evil if put to evil use as Satan intends.

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The Future of Canadian Universities

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Josh Billings once said: "Never prophesy unless you know." It is rash to forecast the future of any institution, even an institution like the university, which is popularly represented as being highly resistant to change. It is particularly rash if one is so close to the subject that details obscure the perspective. One may, however, mark a few dots on the graph, and leave it to more detached observers to discern the pattern (if any) that emerges.

Universities in the Western world came through the Second World War with enhanced prestige. Even in Germany, where universities had a dismal record of intellectual and spiritual defection, they appear to have recovered and to have resumed their proper role. Moreover, Western universities adapted themselves to post-war conditions and, in the English-speaking democracies, became the heroes of the drama of rehabilitation. But now that the feeling of exhilaration arising from their success in meeting the post-war crisis has passed, they must take fresh soundings and attempt to chart their course anew.

During the last few years it has become clear in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, that certain conditioning factors will profoundly affect the role of the universities—factors that are largely the products of social development. In broad terms, the future of the universities in these three countries will depend upon the adjustment that is made between those conditions and certain abiding ideals, academic and national: the academic ideals rooted in history and tradition, and the national ideals peculiar to each country. While we do not impugn the sovereignty of the supra-national Republic of the Mind, yet every institution of higher learning has its immediate sphere of influence, and finds its primary duties, within national borders; in strengthening the higher life of the intellect at home it adds strength to the commonwealth of learning.

What, then, are these conditioning factors that arise out of developments in society? There are three, and the signpost of statistics points to the first. Barring a sudden interruption in the evolution of society—war, famine, or plague—there will be, within ten years at the latest, an unparalleled increase in the numbers of those who desire university education. The latest statistical analysis of prospects for university enrolment in Canada is that made by Dr. E. F. Sheffield, Director of the Education Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, in an address which he gave on June 10, 1955, at the meeting of the National Conference of Canadian Universities. Dr. Sheffield bases his forecast on the birth-rate figures combined with the upward trend in the proportion of Canadians of college age who go to college—in other words, on a steadily increasing percentage of a steadily increasing population. He assumes that the percentage of students of college age coming on to the university (7.2 per cent at present) will increase in ten years' time to 9, 10, or 11 per cent. In view of the fact that the corresponding percentage in the United States is stated to be at least 30 per cent at the present time, it is clear that Dr. Sheffield has not indulged in baseless speculation. Dr. Sheffield calculates that in 1964–65 there will be from 110,600 to 135,200 students in Canadian universities, as compared with the present 65,600.

The second and third conditioning factors that we must bear in mind in looking at the future of Canadian universities are not so easily delineated, but they are none the less apparent. The second is the increasing demand by society for professional people, with the correlative expansion of the universities' facilities for such training. One might say that the twentieth-century university, what President Dodds of Princeton University has referred to as the "multiversity," is largely the outcome of this need. The usual pattern is a group of powerful professional schools surrounding an arts faculty, and there is the danger that the latter may become increasingly a service faculty for its more powerful partners. It is obvious that the pressure to continue this development will not be relaxed. The easiest way in which a modern university can appear to give results to those who support it is by the production of trained technologists.

The third condition is the growing demand that the university make available to as many people as possible the intellectual resources of which it is the custodian. There is no cliché dearer to the heart of the educational politician than that the scholar must descend from his ivory tower and distribute his wares with a generous and undiscriminating

hand. Here, needless to say, the danger is that a superabundance of "extra-curricular activities" will be as damaging to the scholarship of the staff as it is to the welfare of the students.

Let us now look more closely at these three conditioning factors. One could, of course, say that they will bring expansion, prosperity, and importance, and that the universities should simply throw themselves on the wave of the future and drift with it. As far as the expanding enrolment is concerned, we must recognize that a much greater number of students is inevitable. This necessitates what is the most obvious development, namely, the expansion of facilities for higher education in Canada in terms of buildings and equipment, which will involve capital outlay on a scale that has not so far been envisaged. The facilities at the present time are not even adequate for the education of 65,000 students. They would be ludicrously inadequate for the numbers predicted by Dr. Sheffield.

Dr. Sheffield's discussion of enrolment statistics contained an important reservation, to the effect that in his projection no account had been taken "of possible modification of university admission policies or academic standards . . . nor of possible additions (or lack of additions) to university facilities." The increase in any particular institution will thus depend upon the adjustment that is made between the pressure of applicants and the policies and facilities of the university. Here one cannot generalize on a national scale. The expansion must necessarily vary from one region to another, since the pressure will be far from uniform across the country. British Columbia and Ontario have had the greatest population growth, and the universities in these provinces will be under the greatest pressure. The problem for these provinces will be whether to allow the enrolment of existing universities to be doubled or trebled, or to establish new universities, or to set up alternative institutions offering advanced work such as junior colleges and technological institutes.

Speaking of Ontario only, I know of no university in the province that views with equanimity the prospect of a doubled or trebled student enrolment. Academic elephantiasis vitiates academic effectiveness. Already some Ontario universities have determined the maximum numbers of students that they can admit without losing the educational values that they cherish; no doubt the others will be compelled to restrict their enrolment in defence of their standards. It is possible, and indeed most desirable, to improve admission procedures so as to make a better

selection of students for university education. It is possible to make more continuous use of existing facilities—for example, the "quarter" system of four terms a year might be adopted. But those expedients would not be nearly enough to solve the problem. There will still be worthy applicants for whom no places exist. I have suggested elsewhere that it would be best to think first of junior colleges and technological institutes, and that there is an urgency about making a start. New universities do not appear overnight in response to a legislative enactment, and even junior colleges do not spring up without careful forethought; they need, at least in their early stages, to be closely associated with parent universities from which they may derive their standards and their educational philosophy.

I do not suggest that the junior college solution is applicable to all of Canada. In the Maritimes, obviously, it would be folly to add to the present plethora of universities and colleges. There what is needed is more concentration, rather than greater diffusion. Quebec already has, in a sense, a junior college system from which the other provinces may learn much. Presumably the problem of numbers will not arise so suddenly in the three Prairie Provinces, and the present provincial universities can cope with the increase for some time to come. In British Columbia, which has, up to the present time, the greatest proportional increase of any province, decentralization may not be immediately necessary, but in the future the junior college system could be adopted.

I have been discussing so far what the statisticians would have us believe is an inevitable increase, without touching on the basic educational question of whether we should simply accept what statistics dictate. Is there any ideal percentage of the university-age population that we should try to establish? Should we aspire to emulate the United States, where almost one-third of the college-age population attends universities and colleges, or should we endeavour to stem the tide and retain our present percentage, remembering that the corresponding proportion in Great Britain is now 3 to 4 per cent?

I believe that the Canadian answer to this question will be consistent with the historical development of higher education in Canada, the roots of which are to be found in the temper and philosophy of those who were responsible for our emergence as a nation. Although there was an almost immediate recognition of the need for higher education in Canada, there never was a disposition to see in higher education a perfect panacea for the ills of mankind. Our leaders were not so much the products of the eighteenth-century enlightenment as were the Ameri-

can political thinkers. Our universities grew up under the aegis of the churches; they were founded in the belief that education is the handmaid of religion and that it is a religious duty to make possible the full development of men's capacities. The eastern American universities were also, it is true, the results of ecclesiastical concern for the welfare of society, but Canada never had, as the United States did, a sudden upsurge towards the end of the nineteenth century in popular education on a university level. There is nothing in the history of Canadian social development to place beside the growth of the "land-grant colleges" in the United States, with their emphasis on agricultural and mechanical arts. Most of the leaders of educational thought in eastern Canada would have agreed with Matthew Arnold's contemptuous dismissal, in *Culture and Anarchy*, of the motto of Ezra Cornell: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." The closest parallel in Canadian development to those land-grant colleges was the western universities, but by the time of their establishment the university pattern in Canada had matured, and the western universities were derived in large part from their eastern seniors; staffed as they were in the main by graduates of the eastern universities, it was inevitable that they should derive their philosophy from the older foundations.

The difference between the Canadian and American patterns should not be attributed to a tradition of exclusiveness, or an avoidance of democracy in education, on this side of the border. A more positive explanation is to be found in our intellectual history. The tendency to attribute every excellence in Canada to Scotland is so great that one hesitates to suggest another instance, but I do believe that the Scottish tradition in our universities was by far the strongest of all the traditions, and contributed, above all, a spirit of academic democracy, based, however, on a respect for the best. Dalhousie, McGill, Queen's, and St. Francis Xavier Universities were founded in the Scottish tradition; Bishop John Strachan and Archbishop Robert Machray brought Aberdonian influences to bear at Toronto and Winnipeg. Sir Robert Falconer, in a discussion of the Scottish influence on Canadian education, thus describes the spirit that animated the classrooms of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrew's: "What was in a man got its chance, whether he was a ploughman from Arbroeth, a fisherman from the Hebrides, the 'dux' of the Edinburgh Academy or the son of a senator of the College of Justice." Sir Robert then goes on to quote the words which had been placed by Sir William Hamilton on the walls of a Logic classroom, and to suggest that one finds here expressed the genius of the Scottish system:

"All that is related to a contest for victory makes toil pleasant and labour no longer laborious, for by the love of victory the soul is urged onward, and that mightily, to the love of toil. Wherefore let that saying of Hesiod's be accounted of sovereign worth concerning all excellence but especially concerning education: *Good is the strife for mortals.*" It was in this tradition that Professor Milner, the distinguished classicist at Toronto, wrote thirty years ago in his article on "The Higher National Life": "The urgent call, then, is not for scientific efficiency alone, but for enlightened leadership in the higher values of life, for sound knowledge, for the highest training, rigid, unstinted, of the highest natures wherever they may be found."

The Scottish tradition was a democratic one, but with a difference. It did not emphasize the counting of heads, but rather the selection of the best heads without limitation imposed by class or sect. I think that this tradition is still robust in the Canadian universities, and that it will inhibit us from ever sacrificing excellence to the lure of numbers for their own sake. We will, then, in all likelihood, maintain our present position vis-à-vis Great Britain and the United States, with a university population proportionately smaller than the American and larger than the British. This is not merely dull Canadian compromise; it is consistent with our whole educational philosophy.

The second of the conditioning factors that I referred to earlier was the growth in the demand for students trained for occupational proficiency, which in most instances means, in terms of the university, an expansion of its facilities for professional training. It is bootless to protest against professionalism in the universities. Training for the learned professions has been a responsibility of the universities since the rise of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford in the twelfth century, and Bologna's law school, the theological schools of Paris, the medical school at Salerno and other early "professional faculties" exerted a remarkable influence throughout the later medieval period. The professional schools, however, leaned heavily on the faculties of arts. There was established in those early days a primacy of the studies in arts that has been a continuing feature of higher education. In theology, for example, where the monastery schools had given a narrowly specialized training, the medieval universities related the life of the spirit to that of the intellect and produced the great philosophers of the period. In the same way, the practice of medicine became ennobled by its marriage to liberal education and the medical profession thus attained its status as a learned and respected group.

To the three basic professions, law, medicine, and the church, the twentieth century has added a host of others, offspring of the demand for specialization. The process of proliferation is bewildering. Established professions raise up a whole host of auxiliary professions; ancient vocations aspire to professional dignity, as do those whose names are scarcely known to the public. Despite their dissimilarities they have one thing in common: they all want to be officially adopted by a kind old Alma Mater. Most of them are eventually successful, if not at one university, then at another. Even the most conservative university would not support Thorstein Veblen's bitter attack on professionalism as constituting a betrayal of the university's purpose. To him, it will be recalled, the professional student was essentially "a barbarian," "an unmitigated pragmatist who 'turns a keen, untroubled face home to the instant need of things.' " But Veblen's exaggerated distrust of professionalism compels us to think of some general principles to which we must adhere if the university is to retain its intellectual integrity and its spiritual autonomy. It is only by observing these principles that the Canadian university of the future can make the demand for professionalism a source of strength and not of weakness.

The first principle is that any professional course must be related to the validation and discovery of fundamental concepts. It must not be merely an application of concepts in terms of learning techniques, or the "know-how." Professional education must be permeated with the concept of the "know-why." In short, the professional school must not diverge greatly from the purpose of the faculty of arts. If we follow this principle rigorously and intelligently, then not only will we ensure the strength of our universities, but we will make a contribution to the solving of the problem of numbers. If professional courses are confronted with this criterion, and those that fail to live up to it are excluded, then the universities of the future should be able to hand over to technological institutes a good deal of the work that some kind-hearted but fuzzy-minded people would like to have in the university. Here again one must emphasize that the university does not contain all of the answers to success in life, and that the skilful technician who carries out meticulously the concepts of the theoretician plays a role which is essential. But in the university we must not run the danger of so debasing our professional currency that we are unable to turn out the pure gold of theory.

The second principle to remember in organizing our professional faculties is that they should not be a financial drain upon our faculties

of arts. There is a tendency for money to flow into professional channels, and for university administrators to build up an impressive empire of professional faculties. The arts faculty, which does not have such a clear relation to the immediate needs of the public, thereby suffers. Most people, in so far as they have a working philosophy, have been reared to revere a simple utilitarianism; the good things in life are those that can be translated easily into some form of material satisfaction, and the really useful members of society are those who contribute to their creature comforts.

Yet the weakening of arts in any university is an unmitigated disaster. In Canada, I think, there are good reasons why in the future this is not likely to take place. It is not merely piety to say that the arts faculties are important in Canadian universities. The French-speaking universities have given the liberal arts an unquestioned priority; indeed their problem is to develop the technological side to meet the needs of a changing economy. The English-speaking universities of eastern Canada, which have provided the framework for the universities subsequently built in the west, were not founded primarily to serve professional purposes. Although in most instances they were at first closely linked to churches, they were not designed only as schools for the training of clergymen. Throughout the nineteenth century the keystone of the university was liberal studies, and graduates who later made their mark in the professions usually received their initial training in such courses as classics, modern languages, philosophy, mathematics, or science. In this respect Canadian universities differed from the contemporary foundations in England, the so-called Red Brick Universities, which usually grew out of professional schools, in most cases medical schools. Indeed one could say that our earliest foundations differed also in this respect from the American universities of the East, although they had in common religious auspices. Yale, for instance, was founded "to supply the churches in this colony with a learned, pious and orthodox ministry"—an idea which even John Strachan would have dismissed as impractical—and Harvard was established because the New Englanders longed "to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

The arts faculty in Canada has always occupied a pivotal position as the sponsor and guardian of the country's cultural life. It is possible to argue that it has been bad for our national life that so many of our leading writers were professors; it is not possible to deny the fact. Although we may regret that literature and, indeed, many of the other

arts in Canada have not flourished too well outside of university auspices, still we should be grateful that they find in the universities a generous and, on the whole, discerning benefactor. Now at this point in our cultural life, when there is evidence that what we need for our full realization is some sort of concerted official support, it is all the more urgent that we retain our arts faculties in their original strength. One would like to think that, since most of our statesmen have been, and still are, products of the arts college, this happy consummation will be speedily achieved, and that the Canada Council which has been in gestation for so long will soon be brought to birth.

Although I believe that the chances are strong that the arts faculty will not only survive but will become more important, I am not unaware of the potential dangers. Nothing could be more ruinous to the universities of the future than that our arts faculties should be peopled by pleasant, ineffective mediocrities dispensing pale gobbets of culture to a numerous but undisciplined student body. I suggest that the major responsibility of universities of the future is the training and selection of scholars who will make our arts faculties as potent as they were in the days of Sir William Dawson, Archibald MacMechan, W. H. Alexander, John Watson, Maurice Hutton, Ramsay Wright, James Cappon, Stephen Leacock, and other great artsmen of the past.

Just as universities must accept as indispensable the growth of professionalism, so too they must be willing to acquiesce in the increasing demand that they reach out to a wider public. As an American university president recently observed, a professor is no less admirable for being intelligible. The academic fraternity is beginning to realize that there need be no uncrossable gulf between erudition and clarity of statement, and that in many fields it is possible to express the results of long and complicated research in terms that can be readily grasped by a keen mind. In this area the British professor has advanced far beyond his Canadian and American contemporaries, and can teach us much about the art of expressing difficult ideas in language comprehensible to the layman. Few publications today make more exciting and interesting reading than *The Listener*, which is made up of broadcast talks, many of which are given by professors from British universities. These talks manage, in addition to being readable and stimulating, to make actual contributions to learning. Here is an example of how universities, in co-operation with one of the major media of mass communication, have brought the classroom closer to the public; the professor speaks as a professor and is not forced into the role of an entertainer. We in Canada

could effect a similar liaison between university and public. But we will not be successful if universities permit themselves to be looked upon as a reservoir for entertainment. It may afford amusement to see a professor metamorphosed into a minor matinée idol, but it is doubtful whether it does either the professor, the university, or the public any substantial good.

Besides the wide audience reached by popular radio and television programmes, the universities are directly in touch with thousands of the general public through their extension divisions. The augmented demand for extension courses is a healthy phenomenon, and no doubt it will be met as far as it can be met without encroaching on the intramural programmes which have the first call on the time and energies of the staff. In some centres, notably at St. Francis Xavier and in the western universities, extension work has been an invaluable social and cultural influence. Its benefits may be expected to increase with the years, and to bring to the universities enhanced prestige.

To recapitulate, then, we may expect to have Canadian universities with expanded enrolment, though the enrolment will be on a more highly selective basis and the universities will continue to be jealous of their standards. They will continue to respond with discrimination to the need for professionally trained men and women, at the same time making sure that professional courses are rooted in fundamental principles and do not weaken the core of the university, the faculty of arts. The university of the future will be conscious of its wider obligations to society, without abandoning its position as the custodian of the best.

The discussion has so far been concerned with the demands made on the universities by society. The fulfilment of those demands must obviously depend on society's willingness to meet the demands of the universities. Society is accustomed to regard the universities as patient petitioners, purveyors of the "luxury goods" of the intellect, deficient in self-advertisement and inept at salesmanship. Now that the demand for their wares so greatly exceeds the supply, the public will be obliged to recognize that the universities cannot expand—they cannot even exist—on goodwill and fair words.

Of first importance is the position of the university teacher in society. During the last decade we have witnessed many attempts, some of which have been successful, to rehabilitate the teaching profession and to give it a position and prestige in society that is comparable with the other learned professions. Until now the major concern has been for primary

and secondary school teachers. One would not wish to see this emphasis removed. But the cause of the university teacher has not been advanced with comparable vigour. University teachers make up a comparatively small group of our professionally trained citizens, and they are generally averse to publicity and self-dramatization. But by whatever means, the time has come to put an end to the aura of genteel poverty that so often taints university teaching in this country, particularly in those areas of Canada that are not economically buoyant. There must be a recognition of the fact that university teachers make up a precious asset of our national resources. They follow a profession that calls for long, arduous, and expensive preparation, and they engage in an activity that is continuous and complex, and demands the energies of the whole man. It has been customary to explain away the economic disabilities of university teachers by referring to the charming peripheral conditions of belonging to the profession. Certainly no university teacher would deny that he has conditions and opportunities that are not available to the members of most of the other professions. Yet too few Canadian universities can afford to release members of their staff for periodic leaves of absence to follow their scholastic pursuits. Too few Canadian universities are sufficiently well-staffed to permit of reasonable teaching loads. Too few Canadian universities can pay salaries that are even close to being commensurate with the value of the services received. For the university teacher must follow an exacting regimen; he does not observe union hours; his duties are continuous and unbroken; indeed one could say that he follows not so much a profession as a way of life. There is no misapprehension more generally entertained than that the job of a professor ends with the marking of examinations in the spring, and that he spends the summer months in idleness. Actually, of course, the end of the academic term means that he has time to spend on his researches, further study, and the writing of articles and books. In a country like Canada which has a steadily expanding economy, it is particularly shameful that the fruits of our prosperity should not be enjoyed to any considerable extent by the members of the teaching profession. Moreover we must find some way to put an end to the dire discrepancy between university salaries in different parts of the country, whereby an associate professor at one foundation receives only what is paid to a lecturer at another.

In university budgets, academic salaries make up, as indeed they should, by far the biggest proportion. If university salaries are raised substantially, university budgets will have to be greatly increased. There

will be other factors bringing about larger budgets, the most obvious being the ever increasing cost of new building and of maintaining the present university plants. The financial situation of universities, which has never been particularly roseate, will become crucial—indeed, intolerable—without extensive financial support. Upon that support the success of the Canadian universities of the future must depend. I trust that the support will be forthcoming. I think that it will come in a way which is healthy for the university structure and typically Canadian in its approach to the problem. Already a pattern is beginning to emerge that is unlike the situation in the United States and Great Britain.

In the United States the university economy might be described as a mixed economy, with financial support coming from a variety of sources: from governments (chiefly state governments), from business, from alumni, and from certain charitable foundations. There has grown up in the United States, especially in the east, a suspicion of federal government financing, and it would appear that for some time to come there will be a resistance there to any considerable financial support from Washington. One can see many strengths in the American system. The multiple appeal often results in generous support of the universities, particularly from alumni and business. The support from these sources is far more than we have been able or are likely to obtain here. At the same time, the fact that money comes from so many sources does contribute to the securing of a measure of university autonomy, since no one benefactor can exercise control. But the system makes certain demands which ultimately may be unhealthy and which are certainly not adapted to our Canadian way of life. The system demands the establishment and maintenance of elaborate public relations machines so that the university may vie with other applicants for public support. Even at its best, the system results in some degree of uncertainty in financing; a generous benefactor may suddenly decide to spend his money elsewhere; and although the system can lead to a measure of independence, it is also possible that it will lead to the creation of a multiplicity of obligations to outside sources that can enfeeble and impede the university.

Turning to the British practice, we find a system which is almost opposite to the American. The government contributes nearly all of the financial resources that are available to the universities. Even the ancient foundations of Oxford and Cambridge must depend for a very large proportion of their financial support on the government. The danger

of this system, as Americans have been eager to point out, are perhaps even more potent than those of the American system. On the basis of political experience and theory, it might lead to grave interference in the work of universities. It might very well, too, festoon the universities with bureaucratic cobwebs. Worst of all, it might lead to the economic starvation of universities, since governments are notoriously more open to requests for improvements in roads and drains than they are to the needs of higher education. In this as in so many other things, however, the United Kingdom does not obey the laws of logic. According to the testimony of independent observers, British universities in their financial workings are free from outside control and are, to say the least, no more bureaucratic than large American or Canadian universities. The United Kingdom has brought about this result by a typically bold and imaginative move. Although money for the universities comes from the government, and is ultimately under the control of government financial officers, in practice it has been handed over to a committee which consists largely of active or emeritus professors. They thus have the happy situation, as Dr. Eric Ashby of the Queen's University, Belfast, pointed out in a recent series of articles, whereby the patrons of the university are themselves men who have come from the universities and know, from the inside, their traditions and their needs.

What seems to be the developing pattern in Canada? Briefly it is this: the money to operate the universities comes chiefly by way of general annual grants, not earmarked for specific purposes, made to them by the provincial governments—with, I am informed, the glaring exception of Nova Scotia; they also receive a subsidy from the federal government; in addition they have some support from business and, in some cases, considerable support from their alumni. Unlike the Americans we are not hesitant in taking money from the federal government. The grants made through the Department of Veterans Affairs were administered without any suggestion of control or interference with the universities, and there has been no act of the federal government that the universities have received with more undiluted enthusiasm than the Order-in-Council of June 30, 1951, whereby the present subsidy to Canadian universities was established. Again unlike the Americans, we have neither the ambition nor the resources to set up the powerful publicity machines that seem to be essential for the raising of large sums of money from business. Unlike the United Kingdom, we have no system of grants under the control of an academic body. But we have had a commendable

record of non-interference by governments, so that in effect we have secured some of the benefits of the British system without, up till now, adopting their methods.

The economic support of universities in Canada will depend upon the co-operation of governments and business enterprises. This is not for us a new development; it is simply analogous to what has already been accomplished in a number of other fields. At the present time business has not awakened to its responsibilities for higher education, but I think that there are indications that it will. What Canadian universities of the future require is additional support from both those major sources, perhaps with some clear definition of the area to which each should contribute. I think that we should encourage business to make unrestricted grants to universities which could be used chiefly in the field of the arts. After all, it is the direct responsibility of governments to ensure that the nation is supplied with the professional personnel necessary for its health and material welfare—with doctors, dentists, and engineers in particular. Is it not the challenging role for business to become a patron of those arts that, although not essential for survival in a material way, are what give meaning to any survival at all?

Canadian universities are not likely to become corporations of great wealth. They have always been administered thriftily, and they can be relied upon not to dissipate funds. One may hope for a substantial increase in the federal subsidy, which has remained at the same rate since its inception four years ago; and in this connection there should be a recognition of the fact that some regions require greater and more sustained support than others. In education, as elsewhere, it is disastrous to be divided into the "haves" and "have-nots." I do not believe that we should aim at uniformity; no institution of higher learning would wish to become a replica of any other. On the contrary, the regional differences that exist can become a source of strength if the universities agree on a greater measure of regional specialization. Canada would benefit from some process of national rationalization among its universities whereby their training resources would be more strategically disposed and unnecessary duplication avoided. Granted that a basic educational core must be offered by all universities, there is room for division of labour in many fields. At the present time, certain language and "area" studies such as Oriental and Slavic studies have been highly developed, each at a particular centre, and there is no disposition to duplicate them at every university. The same principle could be applied

in other fields, particularly in the ramifying specialties of scientific research.

A synthesis such as this would not be feasible without a greater parity of financial support. It will require, also, a growth in the sense of national unity, and this, I hope, will be one of the characteristics of the Canadian university of the future. It will involve greater flexibility and movement of staff and students, which would help to alleviate the uneven pressure of numbers. Already certain universities, by reason of their graduate schools, have attracted in large numbers the graduates of other, less richly endowed institutions, but the movement is too much in one direction. On the graduate level and, particularly, on the undergraduate level we should try to restore some of the mobility that used to characterize university life in Europe.

The problems of the Canadian universities of the future are serious, inescapable, and imminent. Their solution will be no light task, and one must sympathize with those scholars and regents upon whose shoulders the governance of the universities will rest. I am confident, however, that with planning and co-operation on a national scale, we in Canada will achieve a distinctively Canadian solution to our problems of higher education, provided that Canadians value their universities sufficiently to give them greatly increased support.

Function and Survival in British Universities

Eric Ashby

Napoleon, who died only 134 years ago, could cross the Alps no faster than Hannibal crossed them. Today you can comfortably have breakfast in Paris and lunch in Rome. Gladstone, who died only 57 years ago, could not reach more people with his voice than Demosthenes could. Today a prime minister's voice can be heard in the homes of millions; millions can even watch him smile and blow his nose. The rate of change in the last hundred years is of a different order from that of previous centuries. The changes are not merely advances in technology: they are unprecedented social upheavals. Amid these upheavals stand certain ancient and cherished institutions: churches, parliaments, universities. Will they survive? Have they a function in the new world?

On the face of it there seems to be no doubt that universities in Britain will survive. They are more generously financed than ever before in their history. Their graduates are in great demand. Some of their faculties are being pressed to increase the intake of students. Their prestige never stood higher. They appear to be on a honeymoon. But inside universities there is less buoyancy than one would expect on a honeymoon. There is an anxious spirit of self-examination among university teachers. When they meet in conference they discuss such topics as "The Crisis in the University," "Success and Failure at the University," "Are Courses of Study Overloaded?" "The Balance of Liberal Education and Specialisation." There are already some who fear that the institution which has been known as "university" for six centuries is on the way out, and that although the word will doubtless survive it will be applied to a totally different institution.

This contrast between the superficial prosperity of British universities and their deep-seated misgivings is easy to explain. Educational institutions are not the pace-makers for social change (much as they like to

think they are); they are drawn along, often reluctantly, in the wake of social change. Modern society needs multitudes of experts. The universities are the most appropriate institutions to supply experts. Accordingly society has offered, and the universities have eagerly accepted, financial support and encouragement to develop and expand. We are very properly proud of the magnanimity with which the taxpayer gives British universities some £27,000,000 per annum without even so much as a hint as to how the money should be used. There has in Britain been no suspicion of intervention in university affairs by the state. But inevitably there is intervention in university affairs by society and the consequences of this intervention are only just dawning on academic men; that is why some of them are apprehensive, not to say querulous, about the future of universities. For in many minds the word "university" stands for something unique and precious in European society: a leisurely and urbane attitude to scholarship, a release from the obligation to use knowledge for practical ends, a sense of perspective which accompanies the broad horizon and the distant view, an opportunity to give undivided loyalty to the kingdom of the mind. If on the one hand the university fights to preserve these virtues it may find itself without a function in the society of tomorrow. If on the other hand it surrenders these virtues it may find itself indeed functional, but no longer a university in the traditional sense. It seems that at present we in British universities are in the most awkward stage of this transition. Like Victorian gothic buildings with their narrow spiral staircases, like early motor cars with their brass coach lamps, the universities cling to their traditional organization and curricula in the hope that all they have stood for since medieval times can be preserved among the automatic factories and atomic power stations and social planning of the third millenium A.D.

FORM AND FUNCTION IN UNIVERSITIES

In social institutions, as in living organisms, form and function are inextricably bound together. If function changes, then form must adapt itself or the organism—and the institution—will perish. Among living organisms it is assumed that the prime function is to survive and all adaptations in the organisms are assumed to be to that end. Among social institutions one cannot make so simple an assumption. It is not sufficient to say that the function of a university is simply to survive, at any cost to its integrity; for a university, even though it cannot determine the pattern of society, can influence society and resist some of

its pressures. It has functions over and above survival: in other words it has purpose. This purpose must be a constant subject for reflection among university teachers, because the only justification for any change in the form of universities is to enable them the better to fulfil their function. Thus, such innovations as the introduction of compulsory liberal studies, or the creation of departments in "border-line" subjects such as biophysics, or the foundation of schools in business management, or the revision of the powers of senates and faculties, are all changes in form and are meaningless unless they are demonstrably adaptations to function. Unlike the pure scientist, the university administrator cannot eschew teleology.

It would be presumptuous to attempt to redefine the functions of British universities in this short essay. Suffice it to say that there has been an accretion of functions over the centuries. From Bologna and Salerno comes the function of the university to train students for certain professions, like medicine and law. From Oxford and Cambridge comes the university's function as a nursery for gentlemen, statesmen, and administrators. From Göttingen and Berlin comes the function of the university as a centre for research. From the United States comes the university's function as a state service station, to provide as much post-secondary education and training as it can be persuaded to provide. None of these functions has been repudiated by British universities. Shortage of money and expediency have affected the amount of emphasis laid on one function or another. There is among British academics a widespread feeling that these various functions are mutually inconsistent and need to be reconciled: for instance, the need to reconcile liberal education and specialization is a perennial theme of graduation addresses. But we in British universities have not yet decided whether the social upheaval going on around us requires us to redefine the function of our universities or to reassert that their function remains unchanged. To take one example: the proportion of the population in Britain receiving higher education has increased strikingly. It is no longer correct to say (as is often said in the United States) that Britain offers higher education only to an intellectual élite. If the function of British universities fifty years ago was to train only the intellectually élite, is this function now different? And if it is different, are our entrance requirements, faculty regulations, and curricula, adaptations to a new function or are they surviving forms (vestigial characters, as they are called in biology) of the old?

There is no adequate answer yet to questions such as these, nor any

adequate re-examination of the functions of universities in Britain. So we have to study the form (as contrasted with the function) of British universities if we want to decide how they are reacting to the upheaval of modern society. They are certainly surviving vigorously; what remains stable in their morphology (as it were) and what is unstable and changing?

The answers to this question are instructive. Among the stable features are the mode of government of universities, their insistence on preserving themselves as coherent societies, and their preoccupation with research. There are, of course, others. Among the unstable and changing features are their strenuous efforts to combat what they consider to be the evil effects of specialization, and their attitude to the invasion of universities by technology. The remainder of this essay is devoted to a commentary on these features.

THREE STABLE FEATURES IN UNIVERSITIES

University government. The government of British universities is a remarkable phenomenon. It is totally unlike government in industry or the civil service, for policy is never dictated from above and there is no descending chain of responsibility and authority. It is sometimes said to be democratic: the *reductio ad absurdum* of democratic control. But this, too, is incorrect, for by and large those who control university policy are not elected by their peers, nor are they liable to be deposed if their policies are repugnant to their colleagues. University government is a sort of inverted hierarchy. In a civic or provincial university (Oxford and Cambridge are anomalies owing to the influence of the independent colleges on the University), policy-making begins (or should begin in a healthy university) at the level of departments, among the teaching staff. It then rises to the level of the faculty, where conflicting proposals from departments are reconciled in the presence of all or most of the teachers in the faculty. From the faculty it goes to the Senate (the body of full professors) who reconcile conflicting proposals from faculties, often only by the device of referring them back to faculties for reconsideration. Only after this stage does policy reach the committees of the body where sovereignty resides: e.g. the finance and buildings committees of Council. Finally (and a chronic weakness of the system is the time it takes to operate) policy reaches Council: the governing body. By tradition the Council would only very rarely alter any recommendation coming to it: indeed in some universities the statutes prevent the Council from acting in academic matters except upon recommendation from the

academic body. The Principal of the University, far from being a man charged with the responsibility of creating policy, finds himself obliged to feed in ideas (if he has any) at the level of faculties and to watch them from the chair seeping upwards towards the Council; and the bulk of his time is spent persuading committees of the virtues of unanimity, guiding ideas which well up from these committees, and concentrating the ideas into forms which admit of administrative action once they have been approved by Council. Above all the governing bodies of British universities stands the University Grants Committee, which distributes on behalf of the Treasury the Parliamentary grants which now constitute some 70 per cent of university income. This Committee, too, acts consistently with the rest of the university hierarchy. It never imposes policy on the universities to which it gives grants.

It is a peculiar system. But it works, and in its various shapes (for no two British universities have the same constitution) it is jealously guarded by all academic men. Now there is no reason to believe that this system of government is inadequate to the new age; and the long history of the defence of academic freedom by universities demonstrates that it is a system which is an effective safeguard against the incursions of unscrupulous patrons. So it is reasonable to draw the tentative conclusion that this particular form in British universities is adapted to function. It survives not as a vestigial character but because it is really viable: it is a sign that the British regard it as one of the university's functions to be a source of independent, and if necessary critical, public opinion.

Other features of university government are, one suspects, no longer viable, and obstruct function rather than promote it. Organization into faculties is one of these features. It has separated arts and science subjects in a way which is harmful, and the separation tends to spread. The faculties of arts and science tend to be housed in different buildings, to have different libraries, to have different boards and committees, to charge different fees, and to hold graduation ceremonies on different days: all this stems from the initial separation, made less than a century ago. But faculties are a stable feature of university organization and one rarely hears anyone wanting to abolish them.

The University as a coherent society. One of the firmly held beliefs in British universities is that they should be residential; and not merely residential but organized into comparatively small coherent societies of students. This belief is successfully weathering the high costs of building and the great difficulties in securing sites for halls of residence in large

cities. It is inspired by the influence of Oxford and Cambridge although among the ancient universities of Europe they are almost alone in retaining the college system. It is clearly not the only way for a university to fulfil its function: witness the distinction of such universities as Uppsala, Göttingen, and Geneva, which have no colleges or residential halls. The benefits of living in a community influence the character rather than the intellect; and this strong belief in residence is a sign that the British still regard it as a function of the university to produce the whole man, not merely the clever man.

Research in universities. A third element of stability in British universities is the importance they attach to research, at the expense (in the opinion of some critics) of good teaching. It is not generally realized that this is a comparatively recent feature of British universities. It was imported from Germany in the 1860's. Ranke in history, and Liebig and Helmholz in science, had set a fashion there for the university as a research institute. It spread to Owens College, Manchester, and the Normal School of Science (now the Imperial College of Science) in London. At its best, this preoccupation with research has enabled universities to make massive contributions to knowledge and has enormously enhanced their prestige. The great scientist in his laboratory, surrounded by his small group of research students, teaching them by example: that is one of the most satisfying pictures of academic life. But when not at its best, this preoccupation with research becomes sterile, pedantic, and inimical to good teaching; the picture of academic men drearily doing research in order to qualify themselves for promotion or for recognition by their colleagues is not a satisfying one. Nevertheless committees selecting professors remain unmoved by the argument that universities exist primarily to teach just as research institutes exist primarily to advance knowledge. A man who wishes to devote his whole time to the art of communicating knowledge rather than advancing it stands a poor chance in Britain of getting a chair. This is a sign that notwithstanding the existence of laboratories devoted to research (run by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Medical Research Council, and the Agricultural Research Council) the British still regard research as a vital function of a university.

These, then, are three stable elements in British universities, and they appear to be resisting the disruptive currents of modern society: a system of government which (except at Oxford and Cambridge) must include laymen but which keeps initiative in the hands of academic men; emphasis on the education of personality through communal living;

and insistence on the paramount importance of research. It can be assumed, therefore, that these elements are consistent with the function of British universities and that any attempt on the part of society to deprive our universities of the functions these serve would be uncompromisingly resisted.

TWO UNSTABLE FEATURES IN UNIVERSITIES

The stability of British universities in these three respects throws into relief their instability in other respects. Two unstable and changing elements are selected for comment here: the bogie of specialization and the invasion of technology.

The bogie of specialization. In July 1955 at Cambridge the vice-chancellors and rectors of European universities discussed for a week (among other topics) the balance of liberal education and specialization. There were long conferences as to how these two mutually exclusive forms of education could be reconciled. The Germans have introduced since the war a *Studium generale*, which is a system of general lectures and seminars, visits to plays and museums and concerts, discussions of politics and world affairs; and on certain days (*Dies Universitatis*) the formal work of the university is suspended to make room for these other activities. The experiment is working well, though it is still regarded as an experiment and it is not yet integrated into German university life. The French have recently reacted against what they call "abstract education" in favour of down-to-earth concentration on subjects relevant to the student's specialism, and they broaden the base of specialist studies by preceding them with a so-called "propaedeutic year."

British university opinion is still fluid on this issue. The new University College of North Staffordshire has a compulsory first year which consists of survey courses in several subjects: an enterprise not unlike that introduced years ago by R. M. Hutchins in Chicago. Many universities arrange courses in general education, not nearly so systematic as the *Studium generale* in German universities, but with the same intention. Other universities rely on the activities of student societies and the mutual education which takes place in dining halls and common rooms. Leaders in university life express disquiet about the bogie of specialization; on graduation platforms one is always hearing that something ought to be done, and no one is satisfied that a sort of salad dish of liberal education, put alongside the strong meat of specialization, will solve the problem.

But is it a problem? Liberal education means education fit for a

gentleman. Perhaps there was a time when it was not gentlemanly to be a specialist, but nowadays the antithesis is a dubious, if not dangerous one. The antithesis needs to be challenged, not accepted as a basis for action. Specialization is the essential initial process in a chain reaction of understanding. If a man has not genuinely mastered one discipline he has no frame of reference for other disciplines; and so instead of regarding specialization as inimical to liberal education, it should be regarded rather as the essential core around which understanding can accumulate. It is common to hear that some British university has "put on" a course in order to combat the bogie of specialization. A better plan would be to take some courses off, so that the student has a little leisure to discuss his specialism with students whose specialisms are different: for intelligible communication between specialists is much more likely to promote a liberal attitude to knowledge than are potted courses in so-called liberal subjects.

If these arguments are accepted, then it would appear that it is not the function of a university to turn out doctors and lawyers and physicists who, at the expense of their professional studies, have picked up a little culture through short courses on art and literature and philosophy. The university's function in contemporary society should rather be to turn out specialists, but to treat each specialism as though it were the central core of knowledge (as indeed it should be for the student pursuing it), intimately related to history, economics, philosophy, and art. Opinion in British universities is not yet ready to go as far as this, but the time may come when instead of bemoaning specialization we shall regard it as the *sine qua non* of liberal education. When that time comes a medical graduate will be obliged to become familiar with the history and ethics of medicine; a physicist with the history and philosophy of physics and the social implications of physics; a textile technologist with the history of textiles and with aesthetics applied to textiles; the graduate in brewing with the moral and religious problems of drink. The chain reaction will have begun. If we get that far our graduates will not need culture pep-talks on the work of Bach, Rembrandt, Plato, and Keats: they will discover these marvels for themselves. But we have not got that far. We have not even made up our minds as to what is the university's function in liberal education; and the university's function in specialization was pressed upon us by society, not chosen by ourselves. Should the schools (which in Britain keep students to the age of 18) make themselves responsible for liberal education? Or should the universities defer specialization to (say) the second year of the undergraduate course? Or

should specialization be made the core of liberal education, so that liberal studies are introduced in (say) the fourth year of the course? In Britain there is no consensus of opinion on these questions. The survival of the traditional idea of a university depends on a consensus of opinion being reached: form awaits the definition of function.

The invasion of technology. About a third of the students in British universities are studying technological subjects (including medicine, which is *par excellence* a technology). Nevertheless one hears it said that this has been forced on the universities. There is no clear agreement as to how far it is the function of a university to teach technology, and although technological subjects take up a large share of the curriculum and an even larger share of the finances, it cannot be said that technology has been *assimilated* into university life. For instance, no one cares to challenge the belief that the arts faculty brings sweetness and light into the university: culture, humanism, taste, a sense of values. And even the most reactionary academics admit (a trifle reluctantly) that the faculty of science contributes to the *Geist* of the university. But not technology. The crude engineer, the mere technician, the narrow vocationally trained doctor (the adjectives are symptoms of the attitude): these are tolerated because the state and industry are willing to finance universities to produce them, but it would not occur to the traditional don that they have anything intrinsic to contribute to the university. The function of the university towards technology is still ambiguous; until the ambiguity is resolved, technology will not be completely assimilated into university life.

This is a pity, for the prospects of survival of British universities (as we understand the word *university*) may depend on the way they assimilate technology. A false antithesis has been set up between technology and humanism; indeed public-spirited members of the faculty of arts are prepared to conduct cultural missions in the faculty of technology, to humanize the engineers. There are two fallacies in this antithesis. The first fallacy is to assume that classical humanism is relevant to technologists. No one denies that classical humanism deals with the perennially important issues: goodness and evil, beauty and ugliness, justice, taste; but there is plenty of evidence that it no longer reaches the bloodstream of society; and if it does not do that it is impotent. (It is no accident that a session at the last Commonwealth Universities Conference was devoted to a topic with the prejudicial title "What subjects today are best fitted to fulfil the role played previously in the university curriculum by the classics?") The second fallacy is to

assume that technology cannot itself embrace the humanities. Humanism is concerned with the creative acts of man: these include aeroplanes as well as gothic churches, and textiles as well as poetry. It is true that aeronautics and textile technology are frequently taught in such a way as to miss all the humanism essential to a mastery of these subjects; but that is not an inherent weakness in technology: it is a weakness of technologists. It is deplorable, but no worse than the narrow philological study of Shakespeare, or the pedantic editing of some third-rate poet, which is common enough among scholars of literature.

Let us look into the future and imagine how the universities might assimilate technology, by creating (and they could create it) a technological humanism. Scientific humanism, so popular in the nineteen-thirties, is now as extinct as the *cloche* hats and short skirts of those days. It was doomed to fail because science is by its very nature dehumanized; it has to eliminate man from its equations. This is not true of technology; for technology is the application of science to social needs, and it cannot be understood unless social needs are understood. Therefore the technologist is bound to take into account human values, taste in design, justice in labour relations; even the problems of good and evil. A civil engineer who is going to Tanganyika to build roads needs not only to be a master of surveying and soil mechanics: he needs to be familiar, too, with some social anthropology, some economics, and the fourth book of Plato's Republic: not as *hors-d'œuvres* served before his civil engineering course, but as an integral (and examinable) part of his training in the faculty of technology. In this way the perennial issues of humanism, made from the very beginning relevant to technology, would be more likely to reach the bloodstream of our inevitably technological civilization: and that is the greatest educational need of our time. If the universities were to make themselves the instrument to fulfil this need—to create and to communicate a technological humanism—their paramount function in modern society would be established, and the preservation of their traditional prestige in society would be assured.

Some Problems of the Graduate School

David L. Thomson

The decentralization of advanced postgraduate studies in Canada has been a striking feature of the last few years. Not so long ago, the Ph.D. degree was virtually confined to Toronto and McGill, and, of course, to the French-Canadian universities; of the latter I shall have nothing more to say, beyond remarking that in scientific subjects their doctorates, in principle and procedure, are constantly approaching closer and closer to the "standard" North American pattern. Today the Ph.D. is being offered in several fields by the universities of the four western provinces, by Western Ontario, McMaster, and Queen's, and occasionally in the Maritimes; and the migrations of graduate students are much more various than they were. It would be interesting to know how far the new Ph.D. curricula have used Toronto and McGill as models, and how far they have been influenced by the universities of the United States, especially those (such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Chicago, Cornell, Brown) to which Canadian students have so often turned: but I believe that this question has not been studied. In any case, the trend towards decentralization is marked, and likely to continue; and some consideration of the problems of a graduate school may be timely. Decentralization is, of course, but one facet of a larger question, that of the increasing number of graduate students throughout North America; in three generations or so, this number has increased from less than one hundred to more than two hundred thousand.

A university is confronted by a number of difficulties when its graduate school is in active growth, not the least of which is the difficulty, the near-impossibility, of determining what it costs. It is true that the expensive requirements for laboratory research are almost wholly met by outside funds, and constitute little direct drain upon the university's own resources; and it is also true that it might not be too hard to estimate

either the cost of providing and servicing the space occupied by graduate students, or the increased library expenditures. What is really hard is to allot to the graduate school the proper fraction of the total salaries of the staff; in fact, this is seldom attempted. There are some members of every faculty whose distinction as investigators is so generally recognized that they are gladly excused from taking much part in formal teaching or general administration; but they are greatly outnumbered by those for whom the direction of graduate students is unrealistically regarded as a *parergon*, almost a hobby. Of two graduate students working under the same research-director, one may require far more books or equipment and also far more of the professor's time than the other; and directors vary greatly in their generosity. It is obviously impossible to relate the fees charged to the individual graduate student to the demand which he (as an individual) represents upon the university's general funds: and it has accordingly seemed rather futile to try to relate the average fee to the average demand. I feel certain that the average graduate student costs the university far more, especially in terms of staff-time, than the average undergraduate; but the fees do not reflect this. The universities rightly regard the graduate student with some benignity: both by his own research and as a collaborator with his professor, he may enhance the prestige of the institution; he is interesting to teach and to train, and this enhances the liveliness and contentment of the staff; and he is potentially a member of some academic staff, somewhere. Therefore the unsympathetic glare of the cost-accountant is not turned upon him, and he escapes with a fee so unrealistically low that the university may be said to award an "invisible bursary" to almost every graduate student: the situation is more extreme here than elsewhere, even if there be no area within the university in which fees cover all the costs.

In this essay, however, I wish to deal with academic rather than with financial problems. It might be said that every graduate school must uneasily defend itself against two accusations: that it is not genuinely graduate, and, that it is not genuinely a school. The former is more often heard than the latter, to which I shall return later; but every university contains some departments which should be sensitive to the former, and others which should be sensitive to the latter complaint.

By way of preamble, let us recall the days when the total population of graduate students on this continent was counted in hundreds or thousands; when they were to be found only in the arts and the "pure" sciences; and when the academic profession was the goal of the great majority. The Ph.D., even the M.A., was like Johnson's scholar, "not

known nor valued save by men like himself"; and since he was one of a relatively small number, he could be valued as an individual. Even today, in Britain, a professor's recommendation may be more valuable than the formal label of the conferred degree; and this could be true, even more true, in Canada, had we not allowed our thinking to be coloured by the situation in the United States; there, the number of universities and colleges is so vast that only a handful of professors could command national recognition as judges of ability and character. Hence arises the emphasis upon the degree and upon the transcript of grades; and we are all familiar with the student who will badger his way through to the degree, even though he must see that it will be conferred grudgingly at best, and that any testimonials he may extract will be less than lukewarm.

There is more to it than that. One of two things (I shall come to the other later) that most astonish the academic visitor from across the Atlantic is the number of activities that American universities have taken under their wings, activities which elsewhere are left to independent training schools or technical schools, or are not organized on an institutional basis at all but rather through some sort of apprenticeship system. One thinks of Hotel Management, to take a rather extreme instance. The visitor rightly feels that these activities are peripheral to the university's main interests, and must, even if only as diluents, distract attention and support from its central core. If he inquires further, however, he may discover three explanations for this apparently undesirable feature of the American academic scene. The first is the desire of "occupations" to be accorded the status of "professions"; the second is dissatisfaction with the school system as an adequate provider of general education, so that it is widely felt that, after school, even technical training should be pursued in an environment where further general education is at least theoretically available. The third is the public suspicion, by no means unjustified, of educational racketeers; bitter experience has shown that state legislatures cannot be trusted to refuse approval to the most questionable institutions, and the only guarantee of the honesty and acceptability of some proffered course of training is that it should be sponsored by a university.

To be acceptable, to be "competitive," these courses must also lead, if possible, to a degree; the professional associations will find means to enforce this, by pressure first upon the more compliant universities. Moreover, the Bachelor's degree may be required for admission to the course—no great deterrent in a society in which one-third of the young

people of college age do go to college—and it follows, at least in the United States, that this "higher" award must be a Master's or even a Doctor's degree. From this in turn it follows, in all likelihood, that the course and the degree will be administered by the Graduate School; even if they be far removed from the traditional principles of postgraduate education. These principles may be summarized as demanding a course of study carried on by readings and discussion rather than formal lectures and set exercises, which normally involves at least a gesture in the direction of independent research and hence assumes conferences with an adviser or director, and which is "advanced" in the sense of being complementary to adequate undergraduate preparation *in the same field.*

Many Master's degrees that do not conform to any of these principles are now being offered. In saying this, I do not for a moment imply that these specialized semi-professional courses are not useful, even essential, in our increasingly specialized society. I wish, I confess, that some title other than "Master" could have been invented; and I feel that the traditional degrees such as M.A., M.Sc., and Ph.D. should retain their (presumably) scholarly character, and that the other degrees should be given distinctive and specialized names even when these become faintly absurd: I cull "M. Radiobiol." from one institution's catalogue.

Even where these distinctions are preserved the establishment of these professional Master's degrees tends to obscure the principles of genuine postgraduate work, as defined above, and to conceal the difference between a student engaged in such work and a student who is "postgraduate" only in the literal sense of having won some sort of Bachelor's degree and who may be a mere beginner in some new field of study, receiving instruction of a character entirely undergraduate in its assumptions and its methods. This difference—a very significant one—was never as clear in the United States as in Canada. Toronto and McGill inherited from Scotland the idea of the "honours degree"—highly concentrated and reserved for selected students; their graduate schools, as they developed, assumed this intensive preparation; their graduate students were ready to be introduced to research from the day of their admission. The typical American college, on the other hand, obsessed by its responsibility for "general education" and afraid of presuming to pick out an élite, frowns upon specialization in the undergraduate curriculum; its departments may not even regard their courses as forming a sequence from elementary to highly advanced. Hence the transition from undergraduate to genuinely postgraduate teaching methods, and the moment of effective selection of students, occurs not on entrance to the graduate school but

at the later and variable date of "admission to candidacy" for the higher degree. In extreme cases this date may be so late that the Ph.D. has had only a year's experience of research.

Mention of "admission" reminds me that I undertook, a page or two back, to deal with the second of two things that may astonish the perceptive academic visitor from the other side of the Atlantic: this is the worship of the "transcript." The admitting officers of graduate schools, yes, even the grantors of post-doctoral fellowships, may seem to act consistently on two assumptions, both of them very strange: first, that if the student has "taken a course" in any subject whatsoever, the fact will be recorded on his transcript, and there will usually be a mark or grade attached, apparently as a valid witness of his ability; second, that if he has not "taken a course" in a subject he may be presumed to know nothing at all about that subject, however close to his own interests it may be. The student who comes here from Britain or South Africa may have nothing to show but the diploma handed to him as he graduated; and be dismayed to find that this, for all its seals and signatures, is ranked equal in importance with his certificate of vaccination.

Transcript-worship arises, of course, from the point already made; that in these instances we have to deal with students from a vast number of colleges and universities, very various in their standards, and often unknown outside their own territory. Its danger is that it focuses the attention of the university and of the students too sharply upon the recordable data. Any university will agree that it expects more of its professors than that they should deliver so many lectures a week, and it ought also to agree that it expects more of its students than that they should pass so many examinations a year. A university has more to offer than courses and examinations—these you can get from a correspondence school. Students ought to educate one another, in their organized activities and societies, and, more importantly, in informal discussions in libraries or laboratories or lodgings; they ought to, and in the undergraduate and professional faculties, generally speaking, they do—willy-nilly. Presumably this is what one means when one speaks grandiloquently of students "imbibing the academic atmosphere" and "learning by osmosis."

But the doors of the graduate school are besieged by applicants who will have nothing to do with this. They are teachers or clergymen or engineers, or in business; proud of their zeal, they come to the university for a few hours a week, in the evenings after they (and their professors) have given their best to the day's work; they scatter to their homes,

carrying notes and books for weekend reading; they laboriously concoct a thesis, over several vacations; they pass the examinations; and they not merely want, they expect the university to reward their labours with the professionally valuable degree. The transcript-bemused university examines the recorded data and sees little reason to refuse; and nobody pauses to reflect that a vital element in university life has been wholly omitted.

For I would insist that opportunities for discussion between student and student, valuable for the undergraduate, are still more important for the graduate. He is more mature, and his discussions are more likely to be edifying and open-minded; and his need is greater, because his official studies are so narrowly circumscribed. Most universities permit, many require the student in the graduate school to take courses outside his own special field: a few go so far as to ensure that these students, though beginners in the new course, are treated *as* graduate students and not merely thrust into a horde of undergraduates in an elementary lecture course. But at best this is the vitamin-pill theory of culture, and a form of transcript-worship. Residences, even dining-rooms and lounges, where students from all sections of the graduate school could meet and talk, would be of far greater value. Certainly the most educative experience of my own life was that of dining nightly, month after month, with students from many countries and in many subjects, at the B.A. table in the Hall of my own College.

I said at the beginning that the graduate schools could at times be accused of not being graduate, and at times of not being schools; and the reader may justifiably suppose that in the last few paragraphs I have moved on to the second charge. But in fact I have not yet stated it: and if I do so now, it is with reluctant fear of wounding the susceptibilities of some esteemed colleagues.

I may begin by pointing out that as a broad general rule, to which there are many exceptions, there is a striking distinction between the arts and the sciences in the relation between the professor and his graduate students. In the laboratory subjects, by and large, the senior graduate students are to some extent collaborators. For a year or two they are members of a team, of which the professor is the permanent captain; he devises the strategy, they at most the tactics. The articles published by this changing team, over the years, accrue to the prestige of the professor (even if his name does not appear on them); it is with the aid of his students that he gains increasing recognition as an authority. In the humanities and social sciences the situation is usually quite different.

There may be little in common between the thesis-research of the graduate students and the professor's own personal investigations, which are hindered rather than helped by the necessity of entering into the students' problems. This is the tradition; I need not enter into the underlying reasons, some of which are obvious.

At first glance, the tradition in the sciences seems to be by far the happier; and this impression will usually persist even after close examination. Here, the graduate students feel themselves to be welcome assistants and collaborators; they feel their research problems to be significant portions of a grand design; they inherit at once the accumulated experience and facilities of the whole team; they are insured against neglect and almost safe from impossible assignments; they have good prospects of financial aid during their studies, and of employment afterwards.

We must note, however, that a team of this kind has a double function: the training of the graduate students, and the advancement of knowledge. These two functions overlap, indeed each is necessary to the other; but they are not completely congruent, and it is possible for the second so to hypertrophy as to crush the first. The professor may become obsessed by the desire to get more and more research done, more and more papers published, at whatever cost—even at the cost of assuming anti-educational attitudes. This desire may be in part a pure obsession, a drug of addiction; but it is rationalized as an obligation to appease those from whom he has obtained research grants and hopes to obtain more, and is fed by the exaggerated belief that nothing but productivity can further his academic career.

Such a professor begins ("I wants to make your flesh creep") to grudge every hour that his students spend outside the laboratory, even towards midnight; he is opposed to all distractions, such as minor subjects or language tests, or even the examinations of his own department: the late Dr. Babkin told me of being hounded out of an essential examination and back into the laboratory by an indignant Pavlov. There is no time to permit a student to fumble with a difficulty; he must be lifted over rather than allowed to learn to climb. The student becomes increasingly useful to the team as he matures; therefore he must be kept on—with or without his degree—and not allowed to give up his bench to an inexperienced incomer (in an extreme case the graduate students vanish altogether, only post-doctoral fellows and technicians remain). "Faster, faster!"—the Red Queen drags the breathless Alice unseeing through the wonderland of science. If laboratories of this kind exist, and

I believe they do, it is not surprising that their graduates are found to be ill prepared for teaching college freshmen.

For we must remember that in the United States the colleges and universities are by far the most important employers of Ph.D.'s. This is not true in Canada: we have relatively far fewer college students, hence far fewer teaching vacancies; we are less certain that a man *cannot* be an Assistant Professor unless he has a doctorate; and our Ph.D.'s are concentrated in areas (Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Psychology, Economics) in which the governments and the industries have a larger number of more remunerative positions to offer. Yet our college enrolments will increase, and we may find our graduate schools taking as seriously as those in the United States the problem of including some effective training in teaching techniques within the normal Ph.D. curriculum; I do not concede that "demonstrating" to a junior practical class is effective training.

On either side of the frontier, however, it may be seen that a large fraction of the Ph.D.'s will spend a large fraction of their lives doing things for which they have had little training and for which the thesis-research, the core of the Ph.D. programme, seems to have little relevance. Many of the employing colleges have no facilities for research; many of the positions offered by the governments and the industries are essentially executive; many students who accept employment before they have *quite* finished their theses do not in fact manage to complete them for years, if at all. We must therefore suppose, either that the preparation of the thesis constitutes an educative experience which has transferable values, helping somehow to equip a man to face problems of a quite different kind; or else that the Ph.D. is attractive to employers merely because he is relatively mature, because he has passed through the academic sieve at several stages and cannot be wholly unintelligent or idle (another case of judging by the label rather than by personal appraisal), or conceivably because there are—sometimes—desirable characteristics of personality among men who have chosen the graduate school in preference to the law, medicine, or engineering. I may remark parenthetically that I have often felt that one of the peculiarities of academic life, attractive to many, is its relative freedom from direct competition, the combat *à deux* which may occur between two lawyers or two business men; and I support this by observing that the only sport in which professors have played a conspicuous part is the non-competitive art of mountaineering.

The dean of a graduate school is occupationally bound to prefer the theory of transferable values; but as there is little evidence either way, it behooves him to consider its plausibility. We say that the Bachelor's degree is evidence of the student's ability to learn; that the Master's degree should explore the possibility that he has promise as an investigator; that the Ph.D. should attest some definite achievement in research. It is the second stage that is hardest to define, partly because in one area the Master's degree may be "terminal," there may be no accessible doctorate beyond, while in another area the M.A. or M.Sc. may be at best an encouraging pat on the back, at worst a consolation prize for the "failed Ph.D." I often quote from a report to the Association of Graduate Schools: the candidate for the Master's degree "should have an intellectual adventure which he can describe in words."

But it is well to remember that the first steps into this adventure may fill the student with dismay. Up to this stage, he has learned largely from the lecture and the text-book; he has surveyed his science or art with a broad sweep, looking as it were through the wrong end of the telescope. When he comes to grips with a problem of his own, however, the telescope is suddenly reversed; and the shock may be considerable. He discovers that a dozen wiser men have attacked his problem before; that their findings were contradictory; that the text-books mention none of them, or give a condensed and garbled version of one of the less plausible solutions. Hot for certainties, accustomed to believe that they abound, he gets but a dusty answer, and is appalled by the impossibility of really knowing all that has been done or said, save within the confines of the smallest plot. He becomes suspicious of all generalizations, indecisive, meticulous (in its classical sense of "fearful"), a beetle-watcher under the sunset sky, a pedant, and a very poor bargain. In most cases, fortunately, common-sense reasserts itself; he recognizes that there are different degrees of *expertise*, that even an insecure generalization or a decision not fully informed may be better than none. In short, he becomes a man again; and a wiser man, because he carries with him throughout life the lesson of these dark hours when he struggled alone with the elusive secrets of nature or of the word. It is here, if anywhere, that we should search for our transferable values and our justification for the programmes of the graduate school.

It has been said that an educated man is one who knows when a case is proved. A hard saying! I should be prepared to settle for one who knows when a case has *not* been proved.

The President Reports

Robin S. Harris

In his presidential address to the National Conference of Canadian Universities which met at Toronto in June 1955, Dr. W. P. Thompson of the University of Saskatchewan undertook the task of defining the proper duties of a university president. The protean nature of the president's role would render this a courageous undertaking in any circumstances. Dr. Thompson's decision was particularly heroic since, himself the president of one Canadian university, he was addressing an audience which included the president, principal, or rector of almost every other university or college in Canada. It would be difficult to assemble a more critical audience for an address on this subject. No one knows better than a president the contradictions inherent in a position which places the occupant under legal or moral obligations at one and the same time to five distinct and powerful groups —groups, moreover, whose interests frequently conflict: governors, faculty, students, alumni, and the general public. No one, therefore, has better cause than a president to view with cynicism any attempt to describe the ideal. It is not, however, the purpose of this article to review the difficulties of Dr. Thompson's task, nor to report on his success in dealing with a forbidding subject. (Dr. Thompson's address will appear in the published Proceedings of the 1955 Conference.) We are concerned here with but one of the president's many problems: the preparation of an annual report on the state of the institution. Though not specifically referred to by Dr. Thompson, the problem posed by the annual report proves to be typical of those which face the president, for his efforts to produce a satisfactory report are complicated by the conflicting claims of the five groups with which he deals.

Though a few Canadian universities and colleges do not publish a report (Bishop's, Carleton, St. Patrick's, the French-speaking universities generally), and though several choose to report every three or four years (Dalhousie, Ottawa), the majority publish a report annually. The reports vary greatly in size, format, content, tone, and quality of prose

style. The reports for 1953–54 ranged in length from 6 pages (Ontario Veterinary College) to nearly 300 (Toronto). Some were printed, some were mimeographed, and some remained in the typescript of a convocation address. Some were largely statistical; a few were largely rhetorical. At least two were designed to serve also as prospectuses. This diversity is to be expected in view of the diversity of the institutions themselves: large and small, old and new, public and private, college and university. What is unexpected is to find sharp differences in the reports of institutions of similar size and tradition. In preparing his annual report, the president feels duty-bound to give some attention to the interests of each of his five groups, though, as will be seen, the student *as reader* is seldom in his mind. However, the relative importance of each group depends on the size and nature of the institution; the position of the faculty is different at a large and at a small university, of the alumni at a public and at a private institution. No two presidents, indeed, are in quite the same relationship to governors, faculty, students, alumni, and general public. The reports adopt different forms as different amounts of attention are devoted to the interests of each group.

Historically, the president's annual report is a recent phenomenon, certainly as a published document. Harvard existed for nearly two hundred years before the Overseers in 1826 directed that

> from the reports of the instructors, and from the records of the Faculty and other official documents, the President of the College prepare for the information of this Board an annual Report, ending with Commencement in each year, and presenting in tabular form, in such manner as may best facilitate reference and comparison, the statements hereinafter mentioned, and that he cause the same to be printed for the use of the members of this Board, and laid before them at the stated meeting in January.

1891 is the date of the first "annual" report of the University of Toronto; but ten years elapsed before the 1902 University Act insured that a yearly report on "the work and business of the University as a whole" should be prepared. The University of Western Ontario had no president's report until 1928 when the several faculties ceased to be in effect autonomous units. An annual report has, however, become customary in the twentieth century. Most Canadian universities founded after 1900 have had annual reports since their establishment.

The problem posed by the annual report has been classically stated by Harvard's present head. The "statements hereinafter mentioned" by the Overseers of 1826 were the following:

1) The Duties of Instructors [i.e., the classes assigned].
2) The State of the Departments.
3) The Progress of the Students.
4) Omissions [i.e., absences] and Punishments of Students.
5) General Statements, viz.,
   i) Number of Students,
   ii) Expenses of Students,
   iii) Percentage in Commons,
   iv) Remarks on the state of the institution and measures for its improvement,
6) Treasury Statement.

In his report for 1953–54, President Pusey, after noting that he is "under statutory obligation to make an annual report to the Overseers on the general condition of the University," quickly lists those things that can be listed quickly—that 3,148 degrees were granted during 1953–54, that the University was able to meet its financial obligations, that it received gifts during the year amounting to $12,004,682, that its assets rose from $276,000,000 to $290,000,000. Then he adds:

> But as soon as one glances beneath the surface into the multitude of purposes and people that are Harvard, or decides rather to inquire into the University's intellectual and spiritual condition, it is immediately apparent that one cannot in a report of endurable length give an account of anything so complex, so profound, so varied and so restlessly active as Harvard University. A selection must inevitably be made, and the President's report thus becomes less an account of "the general condition of the University" than of what at the moment especially interests the President.

That an institution can be a good deal less complex, profound, varied and restlessly active than Harvard, yet pose the same problem, all Canadian presidents are very willing to admit.

The typical Canadian (and American, though not British) approach to the problem is explained in the opening paragraph of Dr. Sidney Smith's 1949–50 Report:

> The University of Toronto Act directs the President to "report annually to the Board and to the Senate upon the progress and efficiency of the academic work of the University and University College, and as to their progress and requirements, and make such recommendations thereon as he deems necessary." . . . Accompanying this Report, . . . and made part of it, are the annual reports of my colleagues who are directly responsible for the administration of University College, the Ontario College of Education, the faculties, schools, institutes, and other divisions of the University. In my Report I shall deal with significant developments in many of these divisions and I shall review the progress of the University as a whole. It is both

desirable and necessary, in order to understand better this review, that you should read the reports of my colleagues.

The Report thus divides itself into two distinct sections, here and generally throughout Canada called Part I and Part II. Part I (the actual president's report) corresponds to Subsection iv of the "General Statement" required by the Harvard Overseers: "remarks on the state of the institution and measures for its improvement." Part II, in addition to presenting through the Registrar's Report and the Financial Statement the remaining material required by the Overseers, contains reports by the heads of academic and non-academic divisions. Like Harvard, and many other American universities, Toronto prints a relatively small number of copies of the full Report (1,200 in 1954) but a large number of copies of a separately printed Part I (2,750 in 1954). For several years Saskatchewan printed the two parts separately; Part I "for wide distribution among those who may be interested in a general picture of the state and progress of the University, Part II . . . for anyone who may have a special interest in at least some of the details." At British Columbia, Part II has disappeared as a printed document: "the longer reports are kept on file for reference and archive purposes." At many of the smaller universities and colleges, Part II has never been published: the annual report is the oral equivalent of Part I delivered as a convocation address.

A study of the annual reports of the University of British Columbia during the last twenty years reveals two significant changes. In 1937, President Klinck's Report consisted of 66 mimeographed pages, containing his comments on important developments, a list of faculty publications, a ten-page Registrar's Report, and two-page reports by the various deans. In 1940, the only change was the dividing of the President's remarks into sections: "General," "The Year within the University," "The University in Wartime." President Mackenzie's first report (1945) retained the pattern but was expanded to 144 pages. In 1946 the Report became an attractively bound and printed pamphlet of less than 50 pages, entirely written by the President. Coloured graphs and (occasionally) photographs have been added in subsequent years. But the changes are not limited to the format. Since 1950 each issue has been largely devoted to the exposition of a single problem facing the University and to the description of the methods adopted by the University to solve it:

As you are all too well aware from your meetings, a great mass of detailed educational business is transacted each year in the University, but even in

a rapidly developing and expanding University, such as ours, the basic problems remain fairly constant. Only a relatively few major developments differentiate year from year. Sound teaching, painstaking research, useful educational services to the community, and thorough and critical examination of future plans and projects; these make up the basic annual activity. It is for this reason that I have in recent years formed the habit of reporting very briefly on the normal year's activities, and have prefaced each report by attempting to describe the progress made or the problems faced in some specific aspect of the University's work over a number of years.

In the 1953–54 Report, of which these are the opening words, the problem faced is the financial embarassment of many worthy students. The problem provides Dr. Mackenzie with an opportunity to explain why a national scholarship programme, financed by Ottawa, would be the best solution to the current problem of a shortage of trained personnel in certain professions. At the same time he has an opportunity to describe the University's Student Aid Programme. The record is impressive: 1,600 out of 5,500 students benefited from prizes, scholarships, and loans; the loan fund grew from $37,000 to $217,000 in seven years; 1,200 students were given part-time employment by the University. But these are no more impressive than other facts presented by Dr. Mackenzie: that half the upper-year students were personally responsible for all their expenses; that summer earnings, which averaged $720 for men, did not cover all expenses; that women undergraduates earned far less in the summer than did the men. The connection between the two sets of facts is obvious enough, as is the relation of each to Dr. Mackenzie's basic theme. The Report is at one and the same time an appeal for assistance and an interpretation of one phase of the University's activities.

The approach adopted by Dr. Mackenzie is not unique. President Hall of the University of Western Ontario has been using the annual report for this double purpose since 1948, President Thompson of Saskatchewan since 1950. Several other presidents, of whom Principal James of McGill is an example, adopt essentially the same method but focus attention on a series of related problems rather than on one alone.

Dr. James begins his 1953–54 Report by reviewing the financial position of McGill on September 5, 1953, when there was no prospect of the University's receiving either the federal grant or an equivalent sum presented by the Province of Quebec. He then describes the activities of a special committee which raised $750,000 from 224 subscribers, sufficient, in conjunction with other moneys donated by the McConnell

family, to offset the existing and expected deficit for the period 1952–54; the unexpected receipt of two cheques of $750,000 from the Province, granted "retroactively towards the general operating revenues for the 1952–53 and 1953–54 sessions"; McGill's subsequent decision to offer to return their donations to the 224 subscribers; and, lastly, the refusal of any of the 224 to accept this privilege. This is an exciting story, and it is vividly told. It also enables Dr. James to explain incidentally why considerable space in the annual report is devoted to the acknowledgement of gifts received:

> In spite of the anonymity of some benefactors, the long list of names that appears on pages 199–210 should be read and pondered by every member and friend of McGill University. For more than a century this University has received generous support from the people of Montreal, from other parts of Canada, and from individuals and foundations beyond our borders. These gifts . . . have made possible the steady growth of McGill in terms of its educational offerings and its services to the community. Each one of them, moreover, gives tangible expression to the deep interest of an individual in the work of the University, and the realization by members of McGill of that personal interest on the part of many friends is at all times a source of encouragement and strength.

Had Dr. James concluded his report at this point, it would have closely resembled Dr. Mackenzie's: a problem posed, its solution described. But the logic of the situation forces Dr. James to continue. Not only is the solution at best a temporary one, but the problem itself is about to become radically more complicated. As Dr. James proceeds to show, by reference to the birth-rate figures for the period 1935–45, enrolment in Canadian universities will double by 1961 if the present percentage of high school students continues to proceed to university, and it will triple if—as many responsible educators advocate—twice as many should seek admission. Obviously, steps, many of them financial, must be taken to provide the classrooms and the staff needed to educate a greatly increased student body, the problem of recruiting staff being the most difficult to solve: "the men and women who make up the teaching staff of a university cannot be trained overnight and there is no surplus group anywhere in the English-speaking world on which we can draw to meet our needs." Dr. James describes the "preliminary" preparations being made at McGill to meet the staff and building requirements of the future, and this description is followed by an analysis of the trends in the enrolment in various courses and of the effect which these trends will have on the responsibilities of individual departments

if they continue. Dr. James has thus moved by a series of logical steps from finance to enrolment to staff to curriculum. In the process, he has launched several appeals, and has directed attention to various aspects of the life of his university.

Dr. James' Report is presented to the Visitor of McGill University. The quotations from the Reports of Presidents Mackenzie, Pusey, and Smith indicate that in theory they are addressing their respective governing boards. We have seen enough of the nature of the appeals contained in the reports of Dr. Mackenzie and Dr. James to recognize that there is here a convenient fiction, a formality adopted by them, and by most other presidents, in deference to royal charter or legislative act. We are left with the question, "To whom at present are the annual reports actually addressed?" This question must be answered before the more important question can be broached: "To whom *should* the annual reports be addressed?"

A detailed study of the contents of the current reports is necessary if we are to answer the first question, for it soon becomes apparent that the various sections of the reports are addressed to different audiences. The Table of Contents of the 1953–54 McGill Report reads as follows (the figures in parenthesis indicate the number of pages allotted to each section of the 211-page Report):

Report of the Principal (21)
Report of the Deans of the Faculties (35)
The Pattern of Research (55)
The Teaching and Administrative Staff (13)
The Student Population (48)
The Financial Record of the Year (26)
Form of Bequest (1)

No other university has the honesty—if that is the proper word—to include the final item in its report, though the Trinity College Report contains a reminder of the non-taxable nature of gifts to the College and of the Provost's willingness to supply information as to its special needs. In other respects, the contents of the McGill Report are typical.

Part I of the current reports normally contains, in addition to the President's comments, certain factual material: a list of honours and awards attained by the faculty, and the details of changes in the staff through appointment, promotion, and retirement (McGill's "The Teaching and Administration Staff"); the names of the recipients of honorary degrees; and a reference to the service of persons closely associated with

the institution who have died since the last report. The inclusion of this information in the annual report provides a permanent record of events; the Royal Military College and the Ontario Agricultural College add a diary or chronicle of important dates in the year under review. It could be argued that this information is valuable chiefly to the historian of the future. The argument, however, overlooks the fact that fundamentally universities are assemblies of human beings. The statistics are vital. The reasons advanced by Principal James for reading and pondering the names of those who have contributed financially to the university apply equally to the names of those whose contribution, because intangible, is less easily reckoned.

The Registrar's Report (McGill's "The Student Population") is normally included in Part II, though occasionally presented in Part I and sometimes sensibly assigned to an appendix. It is invariably statistical in form and is unaccompanied by comment. The same may be said in general of the Treasurer's, Bursar's, or Comptroller's Report (McGill's "The Financial Record of the Year"), though here there are exceptions. At some institutions (for example, at Manitoba and Toronto) the financial report is a separately printed document of such length and complexity that one must be a member of the Board of Governors to make easy headway. The statement in the annual report is normally brief enough, but only Dalhousie and Western Ontario adopt the sensible practice of providing a running commentary which translates the cold statistics into information that is immediately intelligible to the layman. The coloured graphs used in the British Columbia Reports to interpret the information provided by both Registrar and Treasurer are an alternative method of making effective use of important information which, as usually presented, is of value only to those who come to it for an answer to specific questions.

As early as 1900, Toronto and McGill listed publications by members of the staff in their annual reports, and this practice is adopted generally today (McGill's "The Pattern of Research"). The justification for the inclusion of these lists is to be found in the 1951–52 Report of President Thompson of Saskatchewan, Part I being, in effect, an essay on the nature and importance of research. Yet there is much to be said against a mere listing of the occasions upon which a member of the staff appears in print. The lists are of value only as an indication that the members of the staff are engaging in research, a fact which the Principal of the Ontario Veterinary College adequately establishes by the unadorned statement that "members of the . . . faculty wrote or collaborated in

writing 38 papers which were published in veterinary and other scientific journals and reports." As bibliography, the lists are useless; what motive other than curiosity would impel a chemist to read the lists prepared by the thirty-odd Canadian Departments of Chemistry?

The most satisfactory publications list is undoubtedly that prepared by the University of Manitoba, in which the entries are placed in specific categories:

> Books or monographs of which the person concerned is author or co-author;
> Books or monographs to which he has contributed editorial service, or signed articles or chapters;
> Papers contributed to learned journals of national or international reputation;
> Papers of more general interest contributed to periodicals of recognized cultural standing;
> Reviews and review articles in learned journals;
> Contributions to published Government reports.

Furthermore, not all publications are listed in the Manitoba Report. "In addition to the titles listed below, more than one hundred and twenty contributions were made in the form of extension bulletins, published abstracts, articles in trade journals, and articles in literary and professional journals of local rather than national or international reputation." Appropriately enough, at Manitoba the wheat is separated from the chaff.

The remaining section of Part II usually contains the reports of the academic and non-academic divisions—of the C.O.T.C. contingent, the student union, the radio committee, as well as of the Librarian and the Dean of Arts. Most universities agree with McGill in limiting the academic reports to faculties, schools, and institutes, but at a number (Acadia, Alberta, Mount Allison, Toronto) the head of each department also prepares a report. Both faculty and department reports can be matters of routine—the listing of new courses, new appointments, research completed and in progress; when this occurs, there is often duplication of information contained elsewhere in the annual report. That such reports can also elucidate the state of health enjoyed by the institution and the purposes for which it is established becomes apparent when the Mount Allison University Report is read.

In his report for 1953–54, the Head of the Department of Philosophy at Mount Allison disposes of routine matters in a paragraph. He then remarks: "You may wonder what exactly is taught in Philosophy class-

rooms." The remainder of his brief report is an answer to this rhetorical question. His colleague in the Department of English pursues a different tack:

> The size of the classes in English 100 and English 200 is also disquieting. Sections of 70 and upwards cannot really be taught. They can be lectured to, and many of the lectures may do much good and little harm, but such lecturing is far short of real teaching. And in English above all, real teaching is needed. Preparation in the elementary and secondary school has been something less than thorough, and mastery of the mother tongue has always been as difficult as it is important. All that can be done under present conditions is, not to produce what is good, but to alleviate the bad.

"Sound teaching" and "thorough and critical examination of future plans and projects" were two of the four basic activities mentioned by Dr. Mackenzie as constituting the undramatic core of the university year. The department report, with its opportunity to present concrete evidence in a forthright manner, enjoys an advantage over the necessarily generalized comments of the president as a means of illustrating the degree of success with which the university is fulfilling its prime function.

The typical annual report is, then, a collection of items calculated to appeal separately to a variety of tastes. There is something for the board of governors, something for the faculty, something for the "friends" of the university, something for the cabinet minister in Ottawa, something for the general public, something, too, for the historian of the future. There is even something for the editor himself; undoubtedly it is the president who benefits most from the frankness of department and faculty reports. The only group not catered for specifically is the student body.

In short, the annual report is a reference work, not a sustained argument. With a few notable exceptions, the reports do not encourage a reader to proceed from beginning to end. As a reference work, the value of the report is unquestionable. The complication is that it is intended to be something more—an annual clarification of the university's condition and progress. At the present time, it is difficult not to view the second intention as more important than the first. The basic problem facing the Canadian universities and colleges, individually and collectively, is to obtain funds sufficient for their genuine needs. The universities know better than anyone else what these genuine needs are, and it is one of the functions of the university president to obtain the necessary funds by making the genuineness of the needs patently clear. It is becoming increasingly apparent that adequate funds will not become

available unless public opinion as to the value of higher education is radically altered. The president, therefore, is under an obligation to convince the general public that the work of the university is both important and necessarily expensive. The annual report is his best opportunity to carry on this campaign.

That it is urgent for the university to recognize the force of public opinion has been recently argued by Sir Charles Morris, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, in "The Idea of University Education" (this discourse, in five parts, appeared in the *Universities Quarterly*, beginning December 1954).

> In the past when universities did not depend upon Governments for their means of support, the views of ministers of state and of public opinion about the place of universities in the community were of interest in a general academic debate, side-by-side with other opinions. But the university world could afford to make up its own mind about the answer to the question and proceed accordingly. It could afford to be very little affected by the thought that its answer might not find much agreement in the outside world. But nowadays it is of great importance to the universities that they and other sections of opinion should come as near as possible to seeing eye to eye about their duties and privileges from the point of view of the needs of the community as a whole.

Sir Charles is in a fortunate position. The pages of the *Universities Quarterly* provide him with a forum at which he is able to speak on university questions with the sure knowledge that his views will be heard by all persons immediately concerned with higher education in Britain. That he is editor of this periodical is an irrelevance; the forum is equally at the disposal of every other vice-chancellor in Britain, as is a second forum provided by the pages of the *Universities Review*. Furthermore, the *Times Educational Supplement*, a weekly devoted to systematic coverage of all developments in British education, gave full reports of Sir Charles's Joseph Payne Memorial Lectures for 1954, the original form of the articles subsequently printed in the *Universities Quarterly*. The Canadian president is not in Sir Charles's happy position. Canada has no periodical devoted to the problems of higher education, nor is there a Canadian equivalent to the *Times Educational Supplement*.

The Canadian president might reach a wide audience by writing a book, but circumstances appear to militate against his finding the time for such a project. It is perhaps significant that the publication lists of the annual reports seldom include the name of the president. The root of the trouble may well lie in the fact that he is constantly speaking in

public: in his presidential address to the N.C.C.U., Dr. Thompson claimed that the president talked far too much and that he should rigorously limit his engagements to three or four significant addresses each year. He could have argued, too, that the written report is more effective than the oral address; it need not begin with an amusing anecdote, it is received more seriously, and it can, through charts and graphs, deal far more usefully with certain types of evidence. Furthermore, through the written report the president is more likely to reach the audience that is not already convinced.

The 1953–54 reports provide ample evidence that the Canadian presidents have the ability to place the university problem before the public in a lucid and therefore convincing manner; if one needs further evidence it is provided in the consistently high quality of the presidential addresses delivered annually to the N.C.C.U. and published in its *Proceedings*. What is wanting at present is better editing and wider circulation. A more liberal interpretation of the term *friend* of the university is obviously in order; to begin with, it must surely embrace every member of the faculty—not merely the head of the department or the full professor, but also the teaching fellow, the demonstrator, the sessional lecturer, the part-time instructor offering a non-credit course through the Department of Extension. And it might well include the members of the graduating class. The editorial problem is a more difficult one. Information of interest primarily to one of the university groups should be included, but it must be so presented (for example, in an appendix) that it does not prevent the main argument from being read by all. Certain Canadian presidents are already demonstrating that the editorial problem can be solved. If further guidance is needed on this or any other problem raised by the annual report, it was given long ago by Daniel Gilman in his first annual report to the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University. Written in 1876, the passage is entirely valid today:

> As the time of your Annual Meeting is at hand, it has occurred to me that it may be serviceable for you to review in a summary way the principal transactions to which you have been officially committed. I have therefore brought together the following statements, hoping that year by year, as long as the University shall exist, the example will be followed, for thus it will be easy for all who are interested in the administration of this trust to discover the principles upon which it is conducted and to estimate the results which may come from this munificent foundation. I hope that you will deem it wise to communicate these Reports annually to the public,—for although this is a private corporation, it is founded for public purposes,—and there is no surer safeguard for the wise administration of its affairs in all the years to come

than a knowledge that it will be scrutinized by enlightened men, not only in Baltimore and the neighborhood, but wherever there is an interest in the progress of American education. It is obvious that during your deliberations, there will be constant need of reticence; the appointment of professors, the construction of buildings, and the interior management of the University are among the subjects on which it is not possible to make any public announcements before the authorities have reached their conclusions. But when the plans are formed, the public are interested in hearing of them, and in knowing the reasons which have led to their adoption. The University cannot thrive unless it has the confidence of enlightened men, and this confidence can most readily be secured by that publicity which fully and regularly makes known the conclusions of the Trustees. In this respect the oldest of American colleges gives an example to all her younger sisters. The reports of Harvard College are models of concise and intelligible documents, and have doubtless helped to secure for that institution the confidence of both benefactors and teachers. It would be advantageous to the country if similar documents were published by every institution which bears the name of a college or university.

Significant Trends in Education in Ontario

J. G. Althouse

Within the past decade, public education in Ontario, and indeed throughout Canada, has manifested certain arresting characteristics which are often regarded as emergency conditions. These conditions, however rapidly they have developed, are not transitory; they will not be alleviated simply by the lapse of time. They have not, even yet, attained their full magnitude. They will continue for an indefinite period and will become progressively more worrisome. For they are part of a startling new stage of our country's development, and, as such, should be regarded as indicative of significant trends rather than as temporary embarrassments.

For example, what has been called the "tide of school enrolments" is not a tide at all but an ever swelling stream. It has not yet reached its peak; indeed, there is little reason to believe that it will reach a crest and then recede. The flood may rise less violently a few years hence, but there is no reason to expect it to drop back to former levels or even to maintain a steady rate of flow. So far as we can see, it will continue to rise for a very long time. More children are being born in Canadian homes; more of them are surviving beyond infancy to go to school. They are attending school more regularly and are staying at school longer than did their parents or even their elder brothers and sisters. More of them are graduating from secondary school and many more are seeking admission to the universities and other schools of higher learning. Indeed, the provision of appropriate levels of further training for all of those who complete four or five years of secondary schooling has become a matter of serious concern to the professions, to business, and to industry, as well as to the universities and the Provincial Department of Education. The growing demand for engineering technicians in addition to engineers, and for nursing assistants as well as for graduate nurses, illustrates this trend.

More than one million boys and girls are in our schools today. Ten years ago there were only 651,000; by 1965 there may be as many as 1,700,000. Hitherto this trend has mainly affected the elementary schools; it has now begun to involve the secondary schools. In 1945, enrolment in those schools was 110,000. By 1955 it has risen to 170,000. By 1965 it will have doubled.

To keep pace with the rising enrolment, the people of Ontario have built three hundred and twenty millions of dollars' worth of schools since January 1, 1945. They will have to continue to build at the rate of over sixty million dollars' worth every year until 1965. By that time there will be about one billion dollars' worth of school debentures outstanding in the Province. The annual carrying charges on this indebtedness will amount to about $80,000,000, which will constitute a first charge on the revenues of the School Boards of the Province. The volume of outstanding school debentures cannot be expected to fall until 1968, at the earliest, and the drop will not be substantial before 1975. The twenty years immediately ahead will witness substantial increases in the School Boards' requirements for salaries and maintenance; these will be anxious, critical years in school financing.

The rising flood of school enrolments is taxing the resources of the Province not only to house the increasing number of school children but also to provide teachers for them. Here, as everywhere else in North America, emergency training plans have been necessary, and reinforcements from other provinces and from other parts of the Commonwealth have been welcomed. Welcome, too, has been the return to the schools of hundreds of married women, whose teaching careers had been interrupted by marriage and the responsibilities of home management.

In the elementary school field, Ontario's Emergency Training Plan assures the new teacher of a full year's Teachers' College education, in addition to preliminary summer sessions, before the award of a regular Interim Elementary-School Teacher's Certificate. It is interesting to note that, during the years in which the Emergency Training Plan has been providing many much-needed recruits, the regular Teachers' College course for Grade XIII graduates has been attracting a steadily rising percentage of Grade XIII students. For many years, about 11 or 12 per cent of the Grade XIII students in the secondary schools sought to enrol in the teacher-training institutions. Last September, over 18 per cent of the Grade XIII graduates of the previous June enrolled in the Teachers' Colleges. This undoubtedly reflects a general improvement in teachers' salaries; it also indicates that emergency measures have been

recognized as such and have not impaired the prestige of teaching as a prospective occupation.

In the secondary school field, an acute shortage of teachers is beginning to appear. Here an emergency plan which proved its worth in the later years of World War II has been revived and improved. Last summer it produced over 400 recruits and at the same time limited them to positions which fully qualified teachers had failed to accept. In certain departments, however, there has been for several years an alarming decrease in the number of specialist teachers entering the profession. Especially in Mathematics and Science, the salaries available for teachers suffer in comparison with the returns offered to new graduates by industry and business. To encourage competent young persons enrolled in Mathematics and Science courses in Canadian universities to give serious thought to teaching as a profession, attractive scholarships, covering the whole of the required university training, have recently been established by the Canadian Mathematical Congress and by a large and well-known Canadian industrial firm. At the same time, the universities and the Department of Education have revised their agreements to bring specialists' qualifications in these departments more nearly in line with the honours courses now required for research for industry and for business. The recruiting of well-trained teachers of Mathematics and Science is a major problem in the United States and in Great Britain as well as in Canada. The problem will not be solved easily or quickly, but it can neither be ignored nor neglected.

The presence in the schools, both elementary and secondary, of numbers of teachers whose professional preparation is incomplete has focused attention upon the supervision and in-service training of such persons. The inspectors, upon whom this responsibility would fall naturally, have found themselves much busier than usual with the purely administrative details of their duty: the giving of advice to their Boards on the establishment of more adequate school areas, on the construction of new schools and on the organization of expanding school services. Two developments have done a good deal to alleviate the situation.

In 1952, the Canadian Education Association secured the support of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation in a project to improve educational leadership. This project concerned itself mainly with the clarification and improvement of the function of the school superintendent or inspector in Canada. Now in its final year of experimentation, the project has done much to increase the practical efficiency of inspectors in providing for the supervision of instruction in the schools. At the same

time, in this Province, the teachers' federations have been active in alerting principals to their opportunities of improved service in this field, and in providing vacation-time training for them.

Generally speaking, wherever the local unit of school administration is large enough to warrant the local employment of inspectors and supervisors, School Boards are providing effective supervision and various kinds of in-service training, and are using Departmental inspectors mainly as consultants or for special investigations. Secondary school principals are now required to give specific assistance to partially trained teachers on their staffs, and to report on their progress to the Department of Education. The need of sustained attention to the special needs of the partially trained teachers is still urgent, but the emergency recruit is by no means left to his own devices, to sink or swim without help.

All of the conditions which I have mentioned—conditions which are still developing and so are really trends—mean rapidly rising educational expenditures. More pupils, more building, larger staffs and the necessity of competing with the other occupations for staff, more and better supervision—these are reflected in rising school costs. Since 1944, the legislative grants for elementary and secondary schools in Ontario have risen from about $8,500,000 to $72,000,000—an increase of almost 750 per cent. But local school taxes have not gone down; they have gone up, not by 750 per cent it is true, but in many cases until they approximate half of the total local levy for all purposes. And, of course, whether school costs are defrayed through local taxation or by a Provincial grant, the real source of payment is the same, the pockets of the citizens of the Province.

It is not surprising, then, to find that public concern about education is more lively than at any previous time. On every side, people see new schools going up, more children going to school, more school buses with their characteristic markings. Every municipal tax bill reminds them sharply of school costs. Inevitably they ask questions about what the schools are doing and how well they are doing it. Many of the questions betray ignorance and show an honest desire to be informed. Many indicate impatience and irritation, and not a few imply that the school is responsible for all the weaknesses and abuses of society. This should not occasion surprise. For at least a generation, the school has been required to attempt to do all that other socializing agencies have failed to do. The church, the home, the community, society itself have flagged in the provision of specific types of training in which each once claimed a monopoly; and the school has been expected to

take over or at least to share in these types of training. Not a few educators welcomed the invitation and the school, gradually at first but at a rapidly accelerating pace, assumed many responsibilities formerly carried by other agencies. Now the same educators are somewhat shocked to find the school blamed for delinquency, irreverence, indolence, malingering, lack of moral fibre, materialism, and any other weakness which may be discovered in young people today.

Current criticism of public education is often misinformed and sometimes even malicious, but, at its most unreasonable, it is indicative of keen interest and a genuine desire to improve the development of the rising generation. One common assumption, however, does arouse deep resentment among educators. It is the assumption that Canadian schools are generally addicted to the most extreme procedures attributed to "Progressive Education" in the United States. A good many American commentators are better informed on this point than are the most vociferous Canadian critics of education. A recent American report on secondary education comments that Canadian schools have had better success because they have managed to "retain the emphasis on work."

Whether by deliberate choice, through typical Canadian caution, or by sheer lethargy, schools in this Province have retained a very large measure of traditional curricula and methods of instruction. In 1949, when local School Boards and school staffs were encouraged to assume a leading part in the revision of the courses of study, the Departmental report was that "the Minister has not had to withhold approval from any local suggestion for fear it might be so radical or superficial as to endanger the progress of the pupils." At that time, the schools did develop a deeper interest in the pupil as an individual and generally manifested keener concern than formerly to discover his best abilities as well as his limitations, but the extreme theories of "natural, untrammelled development" carried little conviction here. One School Board, noted for its willingness to break with tradition, published as part of its 1955 "Message to Parents," the sentence: "To-day's schools . . . are extending a better training in the old-fashioned virtues and in the 3 R's to more of the nation's children than ever before." The schools generally seem to proceed on the theory of the late Sir Fred Clarke, that "moral tension" is no hindrance to mental health, and that the concepts of duty and obligation are desirable.

Public criticism, however badly informed, must be welcomed. Not only does it show wholesome interest, it also stimulates continued and careful testing of current efforts. In Ontario, it has already led to a

concerted study, by the universities, with the support of the Atkinson Foundation, of the problem of devising more effective tests for admission to university courses. It has encouraged at least one strong professional faculty of a university to undertake a clinical analysis of its own methods of instruction and examination. It has influenced the Department of Education, in conjunction with the Ontario College of Education and the teachers' federations, to a sustained effort to improve instruction in English in the schools. One may reasonably expect vigorous public criticism to continue and to lead to similarly practical steps to improve public education.

One should not expect, however, an early definition of educational aims which will be acceptable to all. The general outcry against higher taxation, particularly at the municipal level, is difficult to reconcile with an equally general refusal on the part of local school authorities to be satisfied with anything less than elaborate building and equipment for new schools. A rising tide of demands for the special treatment of every kind of unusual child is hard to square with the tendency to insist upon "raising standards," which generally seems to mean the more rigid insistence upon proficiency in the traditional school subjects as a condition for retention in school classes.

It is in connection with secondary schooling that this clash of opinions becomes most acute. A good many people have not yet realized that present-day school attendance laws, requiring boys and girls to attend school until they reach sixteen years of age, have the result of making it necessary for all boys and girls of ordinary intelligence to experience at least a year or two of secondary schooling. Such persons often sigh for the days in which the high school had a single, simple task, that of preparing an able and industrious few for higher education and, particularly, of giving them a start on their training for public service in the learned professions. In that day, the obvious duty of the high school, so far as the less able and the less willing were concerned, was simply to detect them and eliminate them from its programme. Today, the secondary school faces a vastly more difficult, more complicated, and more important responsibility. It still is required to discover the able and the industrious, and to give them the chance of preparing for the universities and the other schools of higher learning if they desire to proceed in that direction. But it also must remember that even the able and industrious may elect to proceed in other directions, and it has the additional duty of outlining for others, less able or less willing to devote themselves to professional service, appropriate courses to prepare them

to live usefully and with satisfaction in a world of ever more technical and more specialized occupations. This is not easy, but the secondary schools, after some initial resentment and occasional protests, are making real progress. They have developed guidance services to make available to pupils and their parents information about school courses, about occupational opportunities and requirements, and about the pupils themselves. The schools, however, cannot undertake to make positive choices of school courses or of later occupations for the pupils; these choices must continue to be the responsibility of the pupil or of the parent on his behalf. It would be unreasonable to expect that parents would generally, or readily, regard their children with an objective or impartial eye, or that they would cease to covet for these children, regardless of their proven ability, opportunities to attempt the courses of greatest traditional prestige.

An encouraging feature of the educational picture today is the rapid growth of Home and School and Parent-Teacher organizations, and the aroused interest in the schools of various voluntary groups, ranging from service clubs to labour unions and chambers of commerce. The eagerness of such groups to discuss with schoolmen current educational problems is a good omen of an enlightened public opinion and of an awakened body of experts in the schools.

It has been pointed out that secondary school enrolment will double in the next ten years; already 48,000 pupils are transported to high schools, many of them from parts of the Province previously inaccessible for education beyond the elementary level. What is to become of the rapidly swelling stream of school-leavers is a problem of more than educational significance. Modern industry approaches a stage of mechanization which has already been labelled automation. At this stage, the proportion of the total labour force which requires technical skill at the professional level, or close to it, rises rapidly. The universities find it difficult to train enough engineers and industry is seeking many additional technicians. The vocational schools of the Province, both in day classes and in evening classes, are responding to the call. Observant parents are keeping their children on at these schools to complete their full courses, and the technical institutes are flourishing. The Ryerson Institute of Technology has already outgrown its present plant. At the same time, the High Schools of Commerce and the Commercial Departments of other secondary schools are hard pressed to satisfy the demands of employers for their graduates, and the high schools with Agriculture Departments continue to attract record-breaking enrolments of rural

pupils. How much additional university accommodation and how many more places in technical institutes must be provided is still an open question. It is certain, however, that the present frenzied search for highly competent professional and technical skill is likely to be intensified and that the provision of additional skill of this sort involves the training and recruitment of staff as well as the building of laboratories and classrooms.

School curricula are always in grave danger of over-inflation. There are always those who advocate the insertion of new, "practical" subjects in the programme; often these advocates are organized into pressure groups, which command strong public support. International friendship, wholesome family living, sobriety, conservation, safety, citizenship, civil defence—these and many other admirable attitudes, qualities, and skills have been nominated for inclusion in school courses as distinct "subjects." On the other hand, it has frequently been argued that teaching about desirable attitudes and qualities is a far cry from developing those same attitudes and qualities, that many of these are best inculcated by incidental and indirect methods, and that the school's influence in moulding habits and character is slight compared with that of the home, the community, and society itself. It is likely that the schools will continue to emphasize the traditional subjects, and will also continue to seek greater efficiency by the use of better text-books and the more conscious adaptation of instruction to the pupil's individual needs. It will continue to be true, too, that the school's attempt to do a custom job of education for each child will be hampered by the necessity of working under the conditions of quantity production. Even in the senior grades of the secondary schools, large classes are likely to be the rule; in the past, these grades have often been quite small.

Some trends in school practice are emerging which confirm the general forecast which has just been given. In the lowest grades of the elementary school, there is growing recognition of the fact that all children do not manifest the same readiness to learn, or an equal readiness to learn the same kinds of things, at the same age. Alert teachers and administrators are devising flexible types of class organization, to enable "late starters" to catch up, if they have the ability, and to permit bright pupils to proceed without boredom or other hindrance. In the junior grades, increasing attention is being paid to the skill subjects, especially to reading, where notable progress is evident. There is increasing anxiety to effect a better co-ordination of the work of the two highest grades of the elementary school with that of the first two grades

of the secondary school. No uniform device for doing this has yet emerged, but it is true that never before have elementary and secondary school teachers worked together with better spirit and understanding than in the experiments involving these four grades.

It is at about this stage of schooling, too, that one sees a strong tendency on the part of teachers to try to forecast a few fairly certain requirements of the immediate future, and to give the pupils specific training for them. It is pretty certain, for example, that the importance of science in every-day living will continue to increase. In a world dependent upon the applications of scientific knowledge and theory, inaccuracies assume tremendous significance and lack of precision becomes a major menace. So a new emphasis is appearing upon accuracy and precision in school work. In the best schools this becomes a crusade against slovenliness of all kinds, including slovenly thinking. Again, it is fairly clear that the terrible intimacy of our world is likely to become even closer, that every nation inevitably will be affected by every other nation's successes, disasters, fears, and aspirations. Communication, then, becomes of the utmost importance; this calls for greater emphasis on the use and comprehension of language. In an English-speaking community, the use of English becomes more than an art to be mastered by the gifted and appreciated by many; it becomes a practical, necessary skill, to be acquired by all. This is the aspect of the teaching of English which the schools are now stressing. To give a final example, it is lamentably plain that man's skill in human relations has not kept pace with his skill in scientific discovery. To be quite blunt about it, man knows enough about the laws of nature to be able to destroy himself and his civilization; we are by no means sure that he knows enough about himself to refrain from doing so. Because of this, the school believes that it should develop in its pupils a flair for wholesome human relationships, and it believes that the basis of such wholesome human relationships must be moral and religious. The school alone is not able to give the necessary training for this, but it must not fail to play its full part in the co-operative effort which the home, the church, and the school must make.

The schools, then, are setting themselves to accustom their pupils to a friendliness which is based upon confidence and goodwill. This atmosphere is never too easy to establish; it is admittedly more difficult in a large school than in a small one, where the help of all is needed if everything that should be done is to be accomplished. But the large school does present opportunities for many group enterprises, in which

a goodly number may contribute energy and time and ability, and in which the pupil may learn to measure his importance by his usefulness.

One of the ways in which the schools are striving for a more wholesome world is by revealing to pupils the dignity and the satisfaction of work. Work has fallen out of repute; it has come to be regarded as a sort of necessary evil, to be reduced to its least possible impact upon one's life. Most urban homes find it hard to invent serious tasks from which children can derive any sense of proprietary responsibility for the welfare of the family. An ever larger share of the increasing leisure which most adults now enjoy is devoted to amusement or entertainment in which the individual is a spectator rather than a participant. Outside of school, the child of a home of moderate means has little opportunity to learn the thrill of achievement after sustained, honest effort. This the school deliberately tries to give him. If it succeeds, it has provided him with an antidote to one of the most demoralizing tendencies of the day, the tendency to regard it as clever and commendable to get something for nothing.

Some may object to these ventures of the school into the field of moral and ethical values. They may desire the school to restrict itself to its traditional concern for mental development and intellectual growth. At the moment, however, public opinion seems to support the school's anxiety over moral values. It may be that most people have noticed that there is little necessary connection between intent and ability, and that highly developed ability, without good intent, is probably even more dangerous than good intent without much skill. The school must seek to develop both ability and moral dependability.

Matter and Method in Education

N. V. Scarfe

The controversy which centres on the relative importance of subject-matter and methods of teaching in the school is not new, but it tends to become increasingly confused as it engages the attention of a greater number of people. Prejudiced views have naturally multiplied, and so, too, have the approaches to the problem. As the controversy clouds rather than clarifies the issues, it seems wise to try and reconcile the opposing points of view, rather than to engage in the conflict. Thus the purpose of this article is, first, to explain briefly what these points of view are and, second, to suggest ways in which their opposition may be resolved.

The two sides in the controversy have certain characteristics in common which make a resolution difficult. One is the laudable but, nevertheless, fallacious attempt to present the controversy as a simple black and white argument. A second is the tendency to assume that the apparently opposing points of view are mutually exclusive. But it may be found that they are, in fact, complementary. The best education never occurs when matter and method are in opposition; only when *both* are harmoniously blended together can students derive the maximum benefit. A third characteristic is the tendency of each side to assume that the other is arguing about the same aspect of school life. Those who contend for the importance of subjects—particularly of classical subjects—nearly always have in mind high-school students of high intelligence, whereas their opponents are much more concerned with young children and students of low mental ability.

As a preliminary, it will be necessary to indicate the many different guises under which the proponents of matter and of method may be found.

The proponents of matter may be loosely styled conservatives, traditionalists, or idealists. They believe in subject-centred schools where high standards of scholarship are maintained. They stress the value of

subject-matter in sharpening the wits, and assume that the struggle to master and memorize a disciplined array of facts will automatically develop both intelligence and character. They also hold that it is good training for a child to learn to concentrate by being forced to perform tasks which he does not necessarily like; tasks which are either good for him now or will be useful to him in adult life. Others emphasize the importance of a knowledge of history and of the cultural heritage. A study of a hundred great books will, in their opinion, reveal the wisdom and intellectual riches of the past, humanizing and civilizing those who read them assiduously. They deprecate any attempt to concentrate on technical and vocational education, which can only reinforce the dangerous materialism of contemporary society. A further opinion held by members of this group deserves to be mentioned. They tend to favour authoritarian discipline, being utterly opposed to licence of any kind.

The proponents of method are usually called progressive educators, but the term "naturalist" probably describes them better, believing as they do in the child-centred school. They claim that it matters more how a topic is taught than what is taught, and are, in fact, doubtful of the value of subject disciplines by themselves at all. They want to educate through and for immediate interests and needs, and see little value in an extended study of the past. They claim that science is the most fitting and important subject today and that children are, in any case, realistic and materialistic, understanding immediate and concrete situations best. Authoritarian discipline, they affirm, damps down enthusiasm, initiative, spontaneity, and curiosity, each of which is essential to education.

Both the extremes want every student put through a uniform educational process. For both hold a static, rather than dynamic, view of society, in which the individual is no longer sacred and is regarded as less important than the process or the state. Thus neither side will accept the interpretation of school discipline as a discipleship, or "a willing following of a leader of merit," where the teacher is the wise, benevolent leader, not the dictator, nor yet the unobtrusive observer.

The ideal of balance advocated in this article would imply a *teacher-centred* school—not a teacher-dominated, nor a subject-dominated, nor child-dominated school. A school need not be child-centred in its aims or methods, even though schools exist only for the education of children. The teacher who wisely adapts subject-matter and method to the needs of children and of society, and also to his own abilities and skills, is likely to provide the best education. The teacher alone can provide the essential balance.

The debate as to whether teachers are born or made is a good example

of the nature of the controversy under discussion. The traditionalists generally believe in the born teacher, and claim that little or nothing can be done to improve or develop an innate gift except, perhaps, simple unaided practice. Training is, therefore, of little avail and only experience can add anything of importance. Consequently, the major problem of education is to select those with a good Arts degree who have a native gift for teaching. Once they have been selected, they are to be put into a classroom and left there to develop by experience, practice, and enthusiasm for their special subjects into great teachers. The progressives, on the other hand, claim that innate characteristics are never very significant and that the most important intellectual and temperamental traits are acquired. Thus the teacher is, in their view, not born but made.

There is clearly some truth in both positions. Unfortunately, half truths can be very misleading.

One error in the first position is the assumption that an ability to teach can be innate. The only innate qualities which will be useful in the profession are intelligence and a warm-hearted, protective, gregarious instinct. Without knowledge of teaching skills the best people in their early days can play havoc with children until experience and disaster have caused them to think and to seek advice. Methods of trial-and-error succeed only with great men, and are very wasteful to start with.

A second error in this position is the belief that teaching is skilled exposition, and that learning is attentive listening or looking. The traditionalists forget that teaching is the art by which pupils are indirectly caused to think by themselves and for themselves. Talking to them is by no means the only way or even the best way to do this. It is well known that experience is the best teacher, though it may be slow and come too late; consequently, teaching methods should provide contrived or selected experiences for children. Learning is directly proportional to the fruitful *effort* expended by the child, not by the teacher. A brilliant teacher may simply suggest experiments, set subtle exercises, or ask stimulating questions. A patient or even a brilliant expositor may not, therefore, be the best teacher at all.

The opposite position has its errors, too. The principal is the misleading analogy which is sometimes drawn between the clever tricks of the propagandist or salesman and the methods of the teacher. A salesman does not necessarily wish his customer to think too deeply; he wishes him to act quickly, and therefore plays on emotions, fears, prejudices, base urges, and wishes. He is out to make a profit for himself. An educator may use many of the salesman's tricks, but a teacher must

primarily stimulate children to think for themselves, and to think carefully before they act. He appeals first to the intellect, relies on demonstration and reason, and puts the child's benefit first. He must therefore be a person of selfless and sympathetic character, possessing the art of encouraging those who fall behind and of inspiring those who would forge ahead.

Just as the "green thumb" of the expert gardener is as much a product of training (informal or otherwise) as it is of native gifts, so the "craft" of the teacher is as much the product of a clear scientific understanding of children and teaching techniques as it is of an intelligent love of a subject and of children. He must study the subject he teaches as a discipline but also as an instrument of education, skilfully adapting it to the age, ability, and aptitude of his pupils. Only by a sympathetic insight can he really inspire children; but even this insight can be sharpened by proper training.

The blending of matter and method in education can be illustrated by a comparison. A wise mother, when providing a well-balanced meal for her child, has a clear objective in mind. She wishes her child to grow strong and healthy. To make the best provision, she carefully studies what is known about nutrition and dietetics, and as carefully watches the needs of her child. She realizes that though an adequate digestion is the determining factor in the whole situation, her child must do the digesting itself, and that she can only foster the process by preparing appetizing and attractive meals, to be eaten if possible in peaceful surroundings with friendly companions. Natural hunger is, of course, on her side, and the desire to eat stimulates the digestion.

Like a good mother, a teacher provides a well-balanced diet of facts, information, and experiences. He does not send his students out to hunt indiscriminately for facts any more than she sends her children out to forage for food. The teacher, too, knows that "uncooked" raw facts and direct experiences are the most vital, and that they must be suited to the students' capacities. He has, too, a clear purpose in the provision of a carefully selected and attractive diet of information: to develop a maximum alertness and awareness so that the students may grow in wisdom and virtue. Thus he is careful to provide facts not ideas, information not inferences or solutions, experiences not generalizations or principles.

Students who are curious or "hungry" will think best, but a teacher knows how to select his material so that it is attractive and palatable. Moreover, he knows that he must not provide too much too fast, other-

wise there will be mental indigestion, and the memory will be overloaded rather than the mind enlightened. Thinking is stimulated by provocative questions, challenging exercises, and interesting experiments, and the teacher's chief care is to encourage the best kind of thinking of which the students are capable.

Bodily growth, strength, and energy are fostered by exercise, and it is equally true that intellectual growth, strength of character, and alertness of mind are also encouraged by exercise. The application of acquired ideas, attitudes, and concepts to the solution of the problem of living is a necessary activity to make sure that worthwhile information may be successfully transformed to wisdom, virtue, and culture.

Since it is not entirely "natural" for students to want to learn all that modern civilization demands, since it requires skill to make some types of information interesting, and since thinking about the data provided is by no means automatic or efficient, teachers have to use various methods and devices to overcome student resistance. The teacher who centres education on the thinking process is integrating matter and method. Biologically, too, he is proceeding on the right lines.

The subject apart from its application is of relatively little value in education, for there is no guarantee that the students will think about it, or will be essentially benefited. A subject must be of use to the students either by enriching their leisure and their social lives, or by helping them to earn their livings later; and it cannot be of use in this wide sense unless it has been carefully thought about and its implications and meanings fully understood. If a teacher can present a subject in a meaningful way and relate it in an obviously valuable way to the child, if the content is challenging and stimulating, then it is worth studying. In fact, almost any subject well taught can be educational so long as it is thought about and its main ideas are applied to understanding modern life. Equally almost any subject badly taught will prove uneducational. Thus good methods are fundamental but they must be methods adapted to a particular subject, a particular group of children, and a particular teacher. Methods cannot exist by themselves.

The above exposition represents the way in which a teacher-centred education attempts to integrate matter and method. There are, however, some natural corollaries of this view. A few of them can be briefly indicated. Teacher-centred schools give priority to intellectual training, and to the development of individual excellence rather than to social conformity. They accept the truism that behaviour is not good because it is social, but social when it is good. They claim that nothing good

enters this world except in and through the *free* activities of *individual* men and women. They feel that the social development of children is best promoted in the intimate and protective environment of the home where conservatism and traditionalism should be uppermost, whereas intellectual development should be the main concern of the school in an atmosphere of active experiment and enthusiastic adventure. This does not mean that social development is unimportant at school or that emotional growth is ignored, but that sound emotional growth follows and results from sound intellectual growth. In other words, wisdom and virtue should naturally result from thinking.

Even if, as some claim, social development should be the primary concern of schools, it is fallacious to suppose that this can be achieved by the heterogeneous herding of all and sundry together. Mutual sympathy and understanding between people come mainly from intellectual understanding, not primarily from contiguity or socializing.

It would follow that a teacher-centred education, opposed as it is to the cult of heterogeneous grouping, would have no fears of any social danger resulting from the classification and teaching of children in relatively homogeneous intellectual groups. Moreover, it would seem that nothing but good could come from teachers' moving forward year by year, for three or four years, with a particular stream in a particular subject. It is all to the good when teachers have a wider view of their subject and their classes than can be obtained when they teach one grade only. There are advantages for children in having more than one teacher so long as this is not carried to the extreme of having an excessively fractionated timetable, or a change every hour.

Unless children are divided into groups according to age and intellectual ability a teacher has little chance, in these days of large classes, of adapting matter and method to suit the needs of his pupils. If a teacher has a class no longer than one year, or teaches one grade only, he gets no chance of seeing his subject in broad perspective or of planning his teaching so as to achieve its maximum effect; and he cannot gradually change his methods to suit the mental growth of the children.

The grade system tends to stereotype method and stultify content; hetereogeneous social herding reduces all to a dull mediocrity, crushing out individuality, both in the children and in the teacher.

It is intelligence that distinguishes man from the animals. It is the use of intelligence which protects man from the tremendous group pressures of modern life and the amazingly clever devices of mass media of communication. The ever increasing appeal directed to our emotions

rather than our intellect is one of the greatest dangers of the age. Democracy is safe only in the hands of individuals who can think for themselves and who are unafraid to be different or unpopular. Democratic citizens must be trained to be intellectually critical of what they see and hear and read. They must be urged to discriminate wisely, and act virtuously according to the highest standards, not according to average standards. Thus students must be homogeneously grouped so that the best intellectual training can be provided most efficiently.

A democracy is not an equalitarian society. It is one which encourages each to contribute according to his special or unique gifts. It is not one in which equality of opportunity is interpreted as identity of opportunity. It says that children are all entitled to an equal share of teaching time or teaching skill. It claims that all have a right to twelve years of schooling, not to a twelfth-grade education. In no more than nine or ten years some children can reach the average arbitrary standard of grade XII, while others may need fifteen years. It is important, too, to distinguish between ability to memorize the content of a grade XII course, and the mental capacity to understand and use the complex ideas, concepts, and generalizations with which an average eighteen-year-old intellect should be able to cope. The human mind grows in quality and complexity like a living organism. It does not progress mechanically by quantitative addition of factual information.

It is because of these considerations, as well as of the need to harmonize matter and method, that good teachers view education as a continuous process through school, and believe that children should be placed in homogeneous intellectual groups for continuous progress in all subjects. This is not a method of training an *élite*: it is simply a way of allowing every individual to progress through school successfully at his own best rate. Both dull and clever children have an equal amount of teaching time and skill. It is from the teacher that children should learn most, whether it be by direct action or indirectly by example. Children do not go to school primarily to learn from each other. It is for this reason, and because a proper balance of matter and method depends so much on the quality of the teacher, that the school system advocated here is called teacher-centred education.

American Doctoral Dissertations on Education in Canada

Walter Crosby Eells

During the present century more than 130,000 doctoral dissertations have been accepted by American universities. More than 15,000 of these have been in the field of education. As would be expected, most of the latter have been concerned with various phases of education in the United States, but more than one thousand have dealt with education in foreign countries.[1] The main purpose of this article is to list the authors, titles, institutions, and dates of the 111 dissertations which have been written on education in Canada during the past forty years.

The dissertations can be classified by date of acceptance:

1908	1	1920	1	1930	2	1940	3	1950	14
1910	1	1921	1	1931	2	1941	1	1951	9
1912	1	1922	0	1932	2	1942	4	1952	7
1913	1	1923	3	1933	0	1943	4	1953	7
1917	1	1924	0	1934	0	1944	5	1954	3
1918	1	1925	2	1935	2	1945	1		
1919	2	1926	0	1936	3	1946	1		
		1927	1	1937	3	1947	8		
		1928	0	1938	0	1948	3		
		1929	1	1939	1	1949	9		

More than half of these dissertations have been accepted during the past eight years, and more have been completed since 1950 than in the decade from 1940 to 1950. These facts reflect not only the great increase in students from Canada studying in the United States in the past few years,[2] but also, perhaps, a greater interest in Canadian education on the part of American candidates for the doctorate in the field of education.

Two-thirds of the 111 dissertations were written at five American universities; more than one-third of them were submitted at Columbia:

Columbia University	38
New York University	9
Harvard University	9
Stanford University	9
University of Chicago	8
University of Washington	5
Northwestern University	4
Oregon State College	4
University of California	3
Cornell University	3
Catholic University of America	2
Fordham University	2
Indiana University	2
Syracuse University	2
11 other universities, 1 each	11
	111

It is of some interest to observe the wide variety of topics considered in these dissertations. No complete classification is feasible since the titles in many cases are not sufficiently precise to make such a classification possible. The main divisions are: administration and supervision, 25; curriculum and teaching methods, 24; history of education, 17; religious education, 15; guidance and personnel, 7; elementary education, 10; secondary education, 17; higher education, 9; adult education, 5.

While little information on the nationality of the authors is available, it may be assumed that the majority were Canadian citizens studying temporarily in American institutions, who subsequently returned to positions in their own country. Some, however, have continued their educational careers in the United States. A few American citizens, after receiving their degrees, have taken up positions in Canadian institutions. This continued educational exchange of the most highly trained educators in both directions is commendable and should be encouraged.

A noteworthy feature is the relatively large number of women included in the group, no less than 22, or 20 per cent. In the United States in the past thirty years only 12 per cent of the doctoral dissertations have been written by women.

The form of publication of doctoral dissertations has varied greatly in the United States between institutions and at different periods. Some of the dissertations have been published in their entirety; abstracts have been printed of others; and some exist in manuscript only in the libraries of the various institutions. In recent years an increasing number of universities have made arrangements for the reproduction of their dis-

sertations at nominal cost by the microfilm process. Probably more than half of the dissertations listed below have been published in whole or in part. Information concerning the form and availability of any particular dissertation may be secured by writing to the library of the institution at which it was accepted.

Unfortunately there is no one single and reliable source which lists all American doctoral dissertations. In the preparation of this list, titles of all dissertations in education and related fields have been examined in *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1934–54, 21 vols.); *Bibliography of Research Studies in Education* (Washington: U. S. Office of Education, 1929–41, 13 vols. and continued in manuscript to 1952); W. S. Monroe's *Titles of Masters' and Doctors' Theses in Education Accepted by American Colleges and Universities* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1920–28, 6 vols.); *American Doctoral Dissertations Printed* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1912–38, 27 vols.); and many other specialized bibliographies, catalogues, and abstracts published by individual institutions and organizations.

The following list of doctoral dissertations on Canadian education is presented with name of author, institution at which the dissertation was accepted, and date of acceptance. A "General" list, covering education in Canada as a whole or in two or more provinces is given first, and then follow dissertations concerning education in each of the provinces. The arrangement in each group is alphabetical by authors.

GENERAL

1. ALLEN, HOWARD C. "The Organization and Administration of the Educational Systems of the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario." Syracuse University, 1937.
2. BEST, ERNEST MAURICE. "Social Reconstruction in Canada." New York University, 1920.
3. BLACK, WILLIAM GRIFFITHS. "The Development and Present Status of Teacher Education in Western Canada, with special reference to the Curriculum." University of Chicago, 1936.
4. BOON, HAROLD W. "The Development of the Bible College or Institute in the United States and Canada since 1880 and its Relationship to the Field of Theological Education in America." New York University, 1950.
5. CRAGG, EDITH MARION CATHERINE. "A Study of the Content of Literature Textbooks for English-speaking Students in Canadian High Schools in relation to International Understanding between the United States and Canada and Canadian Unity." Northwestern University, 1950.

6. DAVIDSON, STEWART A. "A History of Sports and Games in Eastern Canada prior to World War I." Columbia University, 1950.
7. DYDE, WALTER FARRELL. "Public Secondary Education in Canada." Columbia University, 1929.
8. FERRIER, WILLIAM K. "Program for Alcohol Education in the United States and Canada." Oregon State College, 1953.
9. FRASER, ARTHUR MCNUTT. "Music in Canadian Public Schools: Survey and Recommendations." Columbia University, 1951.
10. GIBSON, GEORGE D. "Jesuit Education of the Indians of New France, 1611–1658." University of California, 1940.
11. GLAZIER, KENNETH M. "The Place of Religion in the History of the Non-Catholic Universities of Canada." Yale University, 1944.
12. HALNON, WILLIAM. "A Descriptive, Critical, and Constructive Study of the Control, Organization, and Administration of Training Elementary School Teachers in England, Canada, and the United States." Indiana University, 1925.
13. HAMMER, EUGENE L. "An International Study of Teachers' Salaries." Columbia University, 1953. (Covers 29 countries, including Canada.)
14. HAUCK, ARTHUR ANDREW. "Some Educational Factors Affecting the Relation between Canada and the United States." Columbia University, 1932.
15. HOWARD, JAMES WILLIS. "Study of Cadet Training in the Dominion of Canada." Cornell University, 1936.
16. HUGHES, NORA L. "A History of the Development of Ministerial Education in Canada from its Inception until 1925 in those Churches which were Tributary to the United Church of Canada in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada." University of Chicago, 1945.
17. HUTTON, HARRY K. "French-Canadian Normal Schools: An Historical, Interpretative, and Evaluative Study." Pennsylvania State University, 1952.
18. JOYCE, LESTER DOUGLAS. "A Guide for Teachers of Arithmetic in Canadian Elementary Schools." Columbia University, 1949.
19. KIDD, JAMES ROBBINS. "A Study to Formulate a Plan for the Work of the Canadian Citizenship Council." Columbia University, 1947.
20. KINGSON, WALTER KRULEVITCH. "National School Broadcasts of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation." New York University, 1949.
21. LANCASTER, CHARLES FREDERICK. "Religious Education under the Church of England in Canada, with special application to the Sunday School." Harvard University, 1923.
22. LOSIER, Sister ST. MICHAEL. "An Evaluation of Education for Democracy in the Secondary Schools of the Maritime Provinces of Canada." Fordham University, 1952.
23. MACARTHUR, ANNIE ISABEL. "Factors associated with the Satisfactions of Dietitians in Canada: What Implications for Recruitment?" Columbia University, 1952.
24. MCCUTCHEON, WILFRED W. "Some Factors for Consideration in the Establishment of Departments of Agriculture in the Protestant Rural Secondary Schools of Quebec and the Rural Secondary Schools of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." Cornell University, 1951.

25. MacGregor, Hugh Alton. "A Proposal for Canadian Federal-Provincial Participation in Vocational Agriculture." Oregon State College, 1951.
26. McLean, Rev. Donald Alexander. "Catholic Schools in Western Canada: Their Legal Status." Catholic University of America, 1923.
27. Machlin, Evangeline Lewis. "Educational Dramatics in the Maritime Universities in Canada." Columbia University, 1942.
28. Miller, James Collins. "Rural Schools in Canada: Their Organization, Administration, and Supervision." Columbia University, 1913.
29. Richardson, William Leeds. "The Administration of Schools in the Cities of the Dominion of Canada." University of Chicago, 1919.
30. Rose, Mary J. "A History of School Broadcasting in Canada." Northwestern University, 1951.
32. Solberg, Patricia A. "Some Value Attitudes of Returned Canadian Veterans." University of Chicago, 1949.
33. Strevig, Jennie May. "History of the Missionary Education Movement in the United States and Canada." New York University, 1930.
34. van Vliet, Maurice L. "A Guide to Administrative Policies for Physical Education in Canadian Public Schools, Grades One through Nine." University of California, 1951.
35. Waide, Frederick Gordon. "A History of Primary Education in Ontario and Quebec." New York University, 1912.
36. Wilson, John A. R. "The Counselor in Canadian Secondary Schools." Oregon State College, 1952.

ALBERTA

37. Chalmers, John West. "Some Factors Conducive to Correspondence Teaching Success in Public Education in Alberta." Stanford University, 1947.
38. Cooper, Alvin John. "The Development of a Department of Practical Theology at St. Stephen's College, Edmonton, Canada." Columbia University, 1950.
39. Coutts, Herbert Thomas. "The Relation between Reading Competence of Alberta's Ninth-Grade Pupils in Four Content Fields and their Achievement in those Fields." University of Minnesota, 1951.
40. Deverell, Alfred F. "Educational Needs of the Rocky Mountain School Division, Alberta, Canada." Stanford University, 1950.
41. Doucette, Andrew L. "A Science Program for Alberta Schools Based on Student Interests." Stanford University, 1950.
42. Finn, Theophilus G. "The Social Studies Program in the Province of Alberta." Stanford University, 1950.
43. Jonason, Jonas Christian. "The Large Units of School Administration in Alberta." University of Oregon, 1951.
44. McDougall, William Dewar. "Suggestions for the Improvement of Elementary Teacher Education in the Province of Alberta." Columbia University, 1947.
45. Miller, Herbert E. "Scholarships for Alberta." Columbia University, 1947.

46. MOWAT, GORDON L. "A Plan for Reorganizing the Costs of Pupil Transportation in Alberta for Purposes of Equalization of Educational Opportunity." Stanford University, 1953.
47. OVIATT, DELMER THOMAS. "A Revision of the Program of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Alberta, Grades I–IV." Stanford University, 1949.
48. REES, ROBERT ELLSWORTH. "Superintendents of Schools in relation to School Division Boards in the Province of Alberta." Northwestern University, 1947.
49. REEVES, ARTHUR WEIR. "The Equalization of Educational Opportunity in the Province of Alberta." Stanford University, 1949.

See also Nos. 3, 26.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

50. ANDERSON, HENRIETTA A. R. "Supervision of Rural Schools in British Columbia: A Review of the Present System and a Plan for Reorganization." University of Washington, 1951.
51. FLATHER, DONALD M. "An Evaluation of the Science Program in the High Schools of British Columbia." University of Washington, 1950.
52. GRANTHAM, HERBERT H. "The Science Curriculum in British Columbia Schools with Emphasis upon the Secondary Levels." Stanford University, 1951.
53. GROSS, CARL HENRY. "Education in British Columbia, with particular consideration of the Natural and Social Factors." Ohio State University, 1939.
54. KING, HERBERT B. "The Financing of Education in British Columbia." University of Washington, 1936.
55. MACDOUGALL, JOHN INNES. "An Investigation into the Subject and Grade Level Factors in Teacher Load, with particular reference to the Program of Studies for the High Schools of British Columbia." University of Washington, 1944.
56. MACLAURIN, DONALD L. "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia." University of Washington, 1937.
57. RITCHIE, MYLES HOUSTON. "An Investigation of Audio-Visual Education with emphasis on British Columbia." Oregon State College, 1943.
58. SMITH, DENIS C. "A Study of the Organization and Development of Administrative Organization in the Educational System of British Columbia." University of California, 1953.
59. STOUTEMYER, JOHN HOWARD. "Religion and Race Education." Clark University, 1910. (Covers many countries, including native races of British Columbia.)
60. WEEKS, HAROLD L. "Organization, Administration, and Supervision of Business Education in British Columbia." Harvard University, 1943.

See also Nos. 3, 26.

MANITOBA

61. GLINZ, LESLIE ALBERT. "The Development of Public Secondary Education in Manitoba." Stanford University, 1931.
62. LAW, NORMA RICHMOND. "Problems of Older Teachers in a Large City School System and Administrative Procedures to meet these Problems." Also reported as "Problems of Permanently Appointed Winnipeg Teachers and Administrative Procedures to meet these Problems." Northwestern University, 1949.
63. WOOD, DAVID SCOTT. "Financing the Schools of Rural Manitoba." University of Chicago, 1935.

See also No. 3.

NEW BRUNSWICK

64. ANDERSON, AMOS MCINTYRE. "The History of Elementary Education in the Province of New Brunswick." New York University, 1940.
65. COOK, JOHN THOMAS. "Teacher Training in the Province of New Brunswick: An Historical and Analytical Study of the Evolution together with Proposed Measures of Practical Reform." Harvard University, 1940.
66. FAHS, LOIS S. "The Social Situation in Seven Rural Communities in New Brunswick studied as the Basis for Planning a Program of General Recreation with special emphasis on Dancing." Columbia University, 1941.
67. MACKENZIE, WILLIAM HOWARD. "A Plan of Procedures for the Reorganization of the School Administrative Units in the Province of New Brunswick." Columbia University, 1942.

See also Nos. 16, 22, 24, 27.

NEWFOUNDLAND

68. BARNES, ARTHUR. "The History of Education in Newfoundland." New York University, 1917.
69. NEWCOMER, RICHARD S. "The Administration of the Extension Courses of the University of Maryland at Harmon Air Force Base in Newfoundland, 1951–1952." Duke University, 1953.
70. O'NEILL, FLORENCE MARY. "A Plan for the Development of an Adult Education Program for Rural Newfoundland." Columbia University, 1944.

See also No. 22.

NOVA SCOTIA

71. ARCHIBALD, JUANITA H. "A Nutrition Education Programme in Cape Sable Island." Columbia University, 1952.
72. DAVIS, DAVID GRAY. "Reorganization of Secondary Education in Nova Scotia." Harvard University, 1927.

73. HUNTER, JAMES JAMISON, Jr. "The Organization and the Administration of the Public School System in the Province of Nova Scotia." Syracuse University, 1943.
74. MCCARTHY, JOSEPH V. "The Effectiveness of the Nova Scotia High School Curriculum in Preparing Urban High School Graduates for Vocations, for Citizenship, and for the worthy use of Leisure Time." Harvard University, 1950.
75. MACLEOD, NELSON BURGESS. "A Plan for Teacher Education in Nova Scotia, with emphasis on In-Service Education." Columbia University, 1949.
76. MARSHALL, MORTIMER VILLIERS. "An Evaluation of the Present Teacher-Training Program in Nova Scotia, with Recommendations for Improvement." Harvard University, 1930.
77. MORRISON, ALAN BRUCE. "A Proposal for Reorganizing Intermediate Administrative Districts in the Province of Nova Scotia." Columbia University, 1948.
78. SHIPLEY, CHARLES MORTON. "Proposals for Developing the Curriculum for a Two-Year Programme in Nova Scotia's Provincial Normal College." Columbia University, 1948.
79. THIBEAU, PATRICK WILFRED. "Education in Nova Scotia before 1811." Catholic University of America, 1921.

See also Nos. 16, 22, 24, 27.

ONTARIO

80. ARNDT, Mrs. RUTH ELIZABETH SPENCE. "Education as Growth: Its Significance for the Secondary Schools of Ontario." Columbia University, 1925.
81. BASEZLER, Sister ST. ALFRED OF ROME. "The Congregation of Notre Dame in Ontario and the United States: The History of Holy Angels Province." Fordham University, 1944.
82. CARLTON, SYLVIA. "Egerton Ryerson and Education in Ontario, 1844–1877." University of Pennsylvania, 1950.
83. CLUBINE, GORDON LAVERNE. "A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Art Education in Ontario Secondary Schools." Columbia University, 1952.
84. CLUBINE, I. WARD. "Teacher Load in the Secondary Schools of Ontario." New York University, 1944.
85. CLUBINE, MARY H. "Effective Procedures in the Teaching of Art in Ontario Secondary Schools." Columbia University, 1952.
86. COLEMAN, HERBERT THOMAS JOHN. "Public Education in Upper Canada (Ontario), with special reference to the Period between 1791 and 1841." Columbia University, 1908.
87. DUNLOP, FLORENCE SARA. "Subsequent Careers of Non-Academic Boys." Columbia University, 1935. (Refers to boys in Ottawa.)
88. ELLIOTT, CHARLES M. "Proposals for the Improvement of the Instructional Leadership Provided by Elementary School Inspectors in Northern Ontario." Columbia University, 1954.

89. Fox, James Harold. "The Centralized Control of Education in the Province of Ontario: An Evaluation of the Administrative Control Exercised by the Central Administrative Authority, with suggestions regarding Desirable and Practical Adjustments." Harvard University, 1937.
90. High, Norman H. "A Study of Educational Opportunity in the Provisionally Controlled Schools of Haldimand County, Ontario." Cornell University, 1950.
91. Langford, Howard D. "Educational Service: Its Function and Possibilities." Columbia University, 1932. (Deals with conditions in Ontario.)
92. Melvin, Arthur Gordon. "The Professional Training of Teachers for the Ontario Public Schools." Columbia University, 1923.
93. Plewes, Doris Willard. "A Course of Study in Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, London, Ontario (Kindergarten–Grade XIII)." Columbia University, 1943.
94. Robinson, George Carlton. "The Historical Development of Public Secondary Education in the Province of Ontario, Canada." Harvard University, 1918.
95. Wilkins, Cecil J. "An Administrative Plan for the Improvement of Reading in the Toronto Secondary Schools." Columbia University, 1953.

See also Nos. 1, 16, 35.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

96. Metthews, John C. "The Report of the Survey of the Public Schools of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island." Columbia University, 1954.

See also Nos. 16, 22, 27.

QUEBEC

97. Blum, William Demuth. "Opinion toward Education in Montreal, Canada." University of Wisconsin, 1946.
98. Carter, Mary D. "A Survey of Montreal Library Facilities and a Proposed Plan for a Library System." University of Chicago, 1942.
99. Cook, Harold Stirling. "Improving Educational Opportunity for Quebec Youth." University of Chicago, 1942.
100. Grant, Harold Embree. "A Plan for a Guidance Program in the Montreal Protestant Central School System." Columbia University, 1950.
101. Hamilton, Lorne D. "The Issue of Public Aid to Catholic Parochial Schools in the United States, with reference to Education in Quebec." Harvard University, 1953.
102. Kistler, Ruth B. "Religion, Education, and Language as Factors in French-Canadian Cultural Survival." New York University, 1947.
103. Lambert, Pierre D. "Contemporary Pattern of French-Canadian Education in the Province of Quebec." State University of Iowa, 1954.

104. PATTERSON, LAURENCE PRESCOTT. "A Plan for the Reorganization of the Administrative Structure of Protestant Education in Greater Montreal." Columbia University, 1947.
105. TRUEMAN, GEORGE JOHNSTONE. "School Funds in the Province of Quebec." Columbia University, 1919.

See also Nos. 1, 10, 16, 17, 24, 35.

SASKATCHEWAN

106. CLARKE, WILLIAM FRANCIS. "The Voluntary Lay Leadership of the United Church of Canada in Rural Saskatchewan." Columbia University, 1949.
107. FOSTER, JOHN EDWIN. "The Administrative Means of Extending the Use of Audio-Visual Materials in Saskatchewan." Indiana University, 1950.
108. GILLESPIE, EDGAR DEAN. "A Study of Some Emerging Practices in Larger School Units of Administration in Saskatchewan." Columbia University, 1950.
109. LANGLEY, GERALD J. "Saskatchewan's Separate School System: A Study of One Pattern of Adjustment to the Problems of Education in a Multi-Religious Democratic Society." Columbia University, 1951.
110. LORIMER, WESLEY CRAWFORD. "The Improvement of Teacher Education in the Normal School of Saskatchewan." Columbia University, 1948.
111. WIGGIN, GLADYS A. "Agricultural Adult Education Programs in Saskatchewan." University of Maryland, 1947.

See also Nos. 3, 26.

NOTES

1 For a general summary see W. C. Eells, "American Doctoral Dissertations on Foreign Education," *Higher Education*, XII (Oct. 1955). [Two lists published by the Canadian Education Association provide the most complete record of theses in education accepted by Canadian universities: *Graduate Theses in Education, 1913–52—Partial List*, 1952, and *Graduate Theses in Education, Supplement A*, 1954. For theses in pedagogy accepted at Queen's and Toronto before 1911, see *Theses in Education, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, since 1898*, Educational Research Series No. 20, Dept. of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education, 1949. For theses accepted after the publication of the C.E.A. lists, see "Summaries of Graduate Theses in Education 1954," *Canadian Education*, X (June 1955), 43–61.]

2 *Education for One World, 1953–1954* (New York: Institute of International Education) shows that 33,833 students from foreign countries were studying in American institutions. Of these, 4,775 were from Canada, of whom 1,239 were classified as graduate students.

Reviews

Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century

"We insensibly imitate what we habitually admire," Coleridge wrote in *The Friend*, half-heartedly determining to purge his prose style of its *entortillage* while at the same time defending his preference for "the stately march and difficult evolutions, which characterise the eloquence of Hooker, Bacon, Milton, and Jeremy Taylor." Coleridge abominated "the epigrammatic unconnected periods of the fashionable Anglo-Gallican taste" and found in the seventeenth-century writers a style consonant with his own way of mind. But his devotion to the seventeenth century did not begin and end with stylistic mannerisms. The discoveries, turmoils, and problems of his own day could not satisfy a mind so capacious and restlessly inquiring. He must search for principles, beginnings, seeds, fountain-heads; and set forth, guided by a fine sensibility, a large capacity for astonishment, and a rare talent for emphatic reading. To what country of the mind, being what he was, could Coleridge have turned with more joyous sense of recognition than to the writings of the period from Elizabeth's reign to the Restoration? Sir Thomas Browne, Robert Burton, Richard Baxter, Henry More, Francis Bacon, John Donne, John Milton, and Thomas Fuller—that "dear, fine, silly old angel" as Lamb called him: great wealth of resonant prose, intricate verse, round rhetoric; much inquiry, much moving polemical sermoning, much resolute political thinking. In this ebullient confusion of ingenuity and dogged reflection, the age had its own gullibilities, superstitions, and ignorances—the wrong-headedness often not the least fascinating. Here too the seeds of the Critical Philosophy were laid and the strain of pragmatic assertiveness that was to dominate the next century took root. Coleridge approached with affection and with vigorous abandon, as though in a home-coming, delighting most in those "masculine intellects, formed under the robust discipline of an age memorable for keenness of research, and iron industry." In the Protectorate alone he saw "a momentous period, during which all the possible forms of truth and error . . . bubbled up on the surface of the public mind. . . . It would be difficult [he said] to conceive of a notion, or a fancy, in politics, ethics, theology, or even in physics and physiology, which had not been anticipated by the men of that age." He threw himself into the controversies—political and biblical—as though they were still living issues (which in a sense they were); quarrelled with the errors, revelled in the quaintnesses, gloried in the toughness of mind.

For the editor who seeks to detach for separate scrutiny some aspect of Coleridge's myriad-mindedness—some section comprehensive enough to indicate the scope yet limited enough to stand forth discretely from the cumulus of his published and manuscript writings—Coleridge is not convenient. At times the Great Age shrinks, for him, to the Protectorate; at other times it expands to embrace as a single epoch the span from Elizabeth's accession to the Restoration. He does not lack historical perspective; but he is less interested in historical movements than in movements of mind. "What is a thought?" he asks, "but I-thinking." He thinks most of individual writers, individual processes of thinking. He reads his books one by one, seeking direct communion with the author (in a clearly realized context), searching below the verbal surfaces for the writer's vital intention. In his writing we do find, rising from his grasp of relations, the incisive historical generalization, the crisp summary of a movement or trend. But at his best, his intimate communings with the minds of an earlier age disclose the vivid touch of a fine critical sense: he moves, dream-haunted, among the dead as though they were living and places them among the company of the living. And if we wish to delineate a period for his mind—to take, for example, the Seventeenth Century—it is difficult to imagine him ever thinking of drama without thinking of Shakespeare.

Miss Brinkley explains in her Preface that the present work "attempts to bring together with reasonable completeness the many illuminating comments which Coleridge made concerning the seventeenth century, its movements and its writers; to give them as much unity as possible by assembling them around their logical topics; and to establish a reliable text for these materials." (*Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Roberta Florence Brinkley; Introduction by Louis I. Bredvold. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. xxxviii, 704. $12.50.) Both the Preface and the Introduction, however, indicate that the book is intended primarily for the seventeenth-century scholar rather than the Coleridge scholar; that its purpose is less to establish or restore some part of the Coleridge canon than to present and rescue from neglect Coleridge's comments upon the great figures and issues of the period, the contribution of a "creative critic" to the general study of the Great Age. Whichever the primary purpose, the task is a formidable one; for the materials are scattered through the published writings of more than thirty years of Coleridge's life as well as throughout the harvest of personal and informal notes that he described in 1821 as "still on the ground, ripe indeed, and only waiting. a few for the sickle, but a large part only for the *sheaving* and carting and housing." The work has occupied the editor for several years and brings together nearly 700 pages of closely packed text. It is inconceivable that such a book would not provide, as the editor hoped, a convenient reference work for Coleridgeans.

The bulk of the collection is made up of marginalia. Some of this material is new; but the most valuable feature of the book is the thorough re-editing from the originals of extensive sets of marginalia previously published in *Literary Remains* and elsewhere. The marginalia presented here, on Hooker, Donne, Hacket, Jeremy Taylor, Richard Baxter, Sir Thomas Browne, and

Milton, provide a text so different from Henry Nelson Coleridge's as almost to constitute a new text. The work of transcription has been done with admirable thoroughness in these cases, and the comparison with the text of *Literary Remains* is very useful.

In addition to marginalia, extracts from Notebooks and other unpublished manuscripts have been brought together, and related with passages taken from letters and the published works. Following the principle Coleridge used in making up the *Aids to Reflection*, Miss Brinkley has arranged the materials so as to give "a connection or at least a propriety of *sequency*, that was before of necessity wanting." The whole work opens with an introduction by Professor Louis I. Bredvold—a sensitive, authoritative, and eloquent appreciation of Coleridge in the perspective of his seventeenth-century enthusiasms and speculations. The brilliance and force of the Introduction somewhat overshadow the editor's more modest introductory notes to different sections: of these, the note on The Old Divines is the most extensive, and the notes on Forerunners of Kant and the Milton lectures are particularly suggestive.

The Coleridge text begins with a series of general observations upon the seventeenth century. Thereafter the extracts are arranged under the subjects of Philosophy, The Old Divines, Science, Literary Prose, Poetry, and Drama; a number of Coleridge's remarks upon Reason and Understanding are collected in an Appendix. Despite the omission of "a mass of material which is important primarily to specialists in seventeenth-century theology," the section of The Old Divines makes up rather more than a third of the book, with Jeremy Taylor, Baxter, and Donne as the dominant figures. Next in extent is the section on Poetry: a good deal of space is devoted to Daniel, Donne, and Henry More; but more than half of the section is given over to Milton—a self-contained Coleridge compendium on a scale never before (to my knowledge) attempted. The section on Philosophy devotes much more than half its space to Locke—the printing of a large part of the 1801 philosophical letters is the most important item here—and closes with an interesting section showing that Coleridge discovered in Bacon and Baxter important anticipations of the Critical Philosophy. The sections on Science and Drama are short and disappointing.

In this whole matter the "carting and housing" are trouble enough; the real problem is the "*sheaving*." Much as they wished to present the unpublished materials in coherent, readable form, the early editors did not solve their problem satisfactorily. Perhaps the problem is insoluble; for Coleridge himself said that if *he* did not gather and arrange the materials "they will all be lost." Successive editors—even Professor Raysor—have followed the same method of presentation as H.N.C. used in *Literary Remains*. It is disappointing to find that Miss Brinkley has in effect followed that same method, even to the typographical indistinctness that leaves major divisions in the material at all times obscure, and sometimes almost impossible to discern. And nowhere in this book are the principles of arrangement or selection discussed.

Perhaps this would have been a better book if it had been constructed

primarily for Coleridgeans rather than for scholars of the seventeenth century. As a contribution to Coleridge studies, the re-edited marginalia, thoroughly indexed and fully annotated, would have been of more permanent value. A clearer indication of chronological relation would also have been of great value, particularly since the extracts are arranged according to the direct association of material or opinion without regard to their relative dates. One would like to be able to answer such questions as: When did Coleridge first encounter Jeremy Taylor's or Burton's work? What was he looking for when he found certain works? Why did he persist in his reading of some authors for a great many years? Again, there are some curious inaccuracies: the Jeremy Taylor section opens with an extract from a letter that actually refers to Thomas Taylor. One wonders why materials published four years ago in Miss Coburn's book *Inquiring Spirit* are here described as "Printed for the first time." And it is a pity that the editor did not record the fact that the annotated books and manuscripts formerly in the possession of Mr. A. H. B. Coleridge are now preserved in the Victoria College Library.

Nevertheless, this is—from a reader's point of view—a fine jungly book. To open it at random is to engage an active mind moving vividly—sometimes on soaring wings, sometimes with low heavy movement of the bustard, sometimes on "animalcular feet"—a mind sensitive, probing, discriminating, self-communing and most infectiously delighting in what it finds—delighting too in the discoveries of others. For the time being, until some resolute and volatile imagination can find a way of fitting luminously together the corpus of Coleridge's fragmentary *obiter dicta* and *fulguratiunculae*, this collection will be an indispensable work of reference. To have a good text of scattered marginalia and some manuscripts is good; to have these collated with early published versions is good too; to have extracts from the unindexed published works arranged in some sequential order is convenient. The book will have delineated more clearly than has been shown before, Coleridge's preoccupation with a century of writing more various and immediate than we commonly suppose. It may also be the first step towards recognizing with systematic clarity something that has been noticed before but not clearly brought into the light: for Professor Bredvold observes in his Introduction "However deeply the philosophy of his German contemporaries may have influenced him, at the most it provided him with a modern approach to some ancient ways of thinking."

GEORGE WHALLEY

Johnson without Boswell

The effect of the publication of Boswell's journals was inevitably to turn attention towards Samuel Johnson once it was realized that later instalments of the voluminous journals were unlikely to add to the impression of Boswell's character made by the first, the *London Journal*, published in 1950. After its appearance one heard nothing but cries of admiration and surprise,

and there cannot have been a reviewer who did not say in one form or another that Johnson's seeming greatness was derived from the genius of his biographer rather than from his own achievement. The principal difficulty in maintaining such an attitude for long was, of course, the contrast between the journals themselves and the biography. As a guide to eighteenth-century low life, as a sketch-book of famous contemporaries, as a field for the psychologist, and simply, and primarily, as an amusement the journals are unrivalled, but they obviously lack the quality which most distinguishes the biography—the quality of greatness. Was this quality then to be attributed not to the biographer but to his subject? Apparently so; and attention was at once diverted from Boswell to Johnson in the search for confirmation.

The quickest way to confirmation was to study Johnson without Boswell, in his own writings and in that part of his life, the greater part, unrecorded in detail by Boswell. It had long been recognized that a distinct impression of Johnson during the fifty-four years of his life before his first meeting with Boswell could be gathered from many sources, but as these sources were necessarily difficult to come at, the essential preliminary to a satisfactory biography of Johnson's early life was scholarly research. The task was undertaken by a number of devoted Johnsonians—notably, by the late Aleyn Lyell Reade, the most selfless and devoted of them all, who throughout the years issued his volumes of *Johnsonian Gleanings*, the last of which appeared in 1946.

The completion of Reade's work in effect corresponded with the sudden interest in Johnson himself inspired by the publication of Boswell's journals; and depending upon Reade's researches and encouraged by the interest in Johnson, Professor James L. Clifford has now published his account of the first forty years of Johnson's life. (James L. Clifford, *Young Sam Johnson*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. [Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada]. 1955. Pp. xvi, 382. $5.75.) When I say that Mr. Clifford *depends* upon Reade I do not intend to suggest that he has simply relied upon and popularized Reade's laborious work, but I think it would be a shame if it was Reade's fate to lie forgotten in the limbo of footnotes. And that this, too, is Mr. Clifford's opinion is shown by his generous inscription of his biography to Reade's memory.

Mr. Clifford himself is a leading contemporary Johnsonian and he has the fruits of his own original and thorough researches to add to Reade's store. But he is more than a scholar; he is also a practised and skilful biographer; and this combination of gifts has allowed him to write an account which is unlikely to be superseded for several years. Tactfully deploying a mass of detail, he follows Johnson's extraordinary career from his birth in Lichfield to the publication of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, the poem in which Johnson greatly and sombrely summed up all that his experience had so far taught him; and never once in the course of this narrative has the reader any reason to suspect Mr. Clifford's presentation of his material, or to withdraw confidence in him as a guide. An admirable achievement!

The difficulties which Mr. Clifford must have had to contend with are so many that a choice of only one for comment is bound to suggest that his

task was smoother than it could ever have been in fact; but this one difficulty is so central to the problem of writing a biography of Johnson's early life that it must be mentioned. Johnson occasionally spoke about his youth and when he did so, he spoke with his own unrivalled force. "My uncle Harrison did not much like us, nor did we like him. He was a very mean and vulgar man, drunk every night, but drunk with little drink, very peevish, very proud, very ostentatious, but, luckily, not rich." Or, again: "JOHNSON. 'I had no notion that I was wrong or irreverent to my tutor.' BOSWELL. 'Why that was great fortitude of mind.' JOHNSON. 'No, Sir, stark insensibility.' " These and similar comments are, of course, recorded by Mr. Clifford and the effect is instantaneously to introduce the older, completed Johnson, who shatters by his interruption the picture of immaturity which the biographer is cautiously striving to build up. In other words, the biographer must devise some method of keeping the later Johnson, the "great Cham," in his place and of preventing the reader from treating his account merely as a rather lengthy prologue to Boswell.

Mr. Clifford has not completely solved this difficulty. He has marshalled his facts so uniformly that the scenes maintain a common level; even the scenes of struggling poverty in London, though excellently treated, do not stand out in recollection much above the description of domestic manners in early eighteenth-century Lichfield; and the effect of this uniformity is to let the later Johnson make his disturbing presence deeply felt each time he is called upon to witness. Mr. Clifford could have profitably imitated Boswell's brilliant device of varying the narrative pace to heighten the greater scenes.

In case I have given the unfortunate impression of praising Mr. Clifford's account only to retract, I must hurry to add that two questions are always involved in the criticism of a biography, the scholarship and the art. Mr. Clifford's scholarship is absolutely first class; from that point of view, this is the biography of Johnson's early life that we have all been waiting for; and if his art is a little less impressive the critic is inevitably drawn to attempt it rather than the unassailable pinnacle of the first.

I said earlier that the quickest way to the confirmation of Johnson's greatness was to study his writings and his life without Boswell. Mr. Clifford is concerned with the last; Professor W. J. Bate, a recently initiated Johnsonian, to some extent with both. (Walter Jackson Bate, *The Achievement of Samuel Johnson*. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 248. $4.50.) The first and longest section of Mr. Bate's book is devoted to a sketch of Johnson's career. It boasts the title "A Life of Allegory," but it is in fact nothing more than an ordinary competent essay, which is hardly necessary at this late date to the kind of reader Mr. Bate is aiming at, and is certainly not essential to the later part of the book. Mr. Bate has a liking for sounding titles: "A Life of Allegory" is followed by "The Hunger of the Imagination": and the liking may prevent the reader from enjoying what he is given by raising the expectation of more. But once Mr. Bate turns aside from biography he writes shrewdly—though his shrewdness is occasionally lost in a loose style—about several aspects of Johnson's character which have never been stressed. He has considerable ability at

selecting quotations and setting them so that they reflect on each other and illuminate with their blaze the dark grandeur of Johnson's inner self. Does the book really describe Johnson's achievement? No; but it does call attention to his stature in an unusual and interesting way.

Professors Sledd and Kolb, the last of this group of Johnsonians, are concerned with Johnson's work—one work, the splendid *Dictionary*. (James H. Sledd and Gwin J. Kolb, *Dr. Johnson's Dictionary: Essays in the Biography of a Book*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Toronto: University of Toronto Press]. Pp. viii, 256. $5.00.) Mr. Sledd's and Mr. Kolb's essays can be taken as an example of how faithful scholarship, clearly and precisely expressed, can illustrate greatness. The *Dictionary* is one of the most pleasurable and fascinating of books: to look up, say, "candour" is to find oneself insensibly and deviously beguiled down the alphabet to "zebra": and these essays enhance it by settling its place in the lexicographical tradition and determining the circumstances and manner of its composition. One might ask whether the meticulous examination of the MS. of "A Short Scheme for compiling a new Dictionary of the English Language" is not too lengthy; but the other essays, on the lexicographical tradition, on Lord Chesterfield and Johnson, etc., are as enjoyable as they are informed: old heresies are scattered and truth restored. As the authors appear to know everything that there is to know about the *Dictionary*, one might also ask why Chancellor John E. W. Wallis's delightful essay *Dr Johnson and his English Dictionary*, 1946, is not mentioned. Surely such a worthy forerunner in admiration for the *Dictionary* deserves Mr. Sledd's and Mr. Kolb's kind word?

All the books considered help to answer the original question referred to in this review: from whence is Johnson's greatness derived? To answer indirectly in Johnson's own words: "the mind can only repose on the stability of truth."

DOUGLAS GRANT

The Poetry of Crabbe

When George Crabbe read Hazlitt's stupid and savage attack on him in *The Spirit of the Times*, he was understandably perturbed. "But my engraved seal," he remarked later, "dropped out of the socket and was lost, and I perceived this vexed me much more than the 'spirit' of Mr. Hazlitt." It is likely, then, that he would have been at least as charitable towards the latest criticism of his work, *The Poetry of Crabbe*, and its author, Lilian Haddakin. (Lilian Haddakin, *The Poetry of Crabbe*. London: Chatto & Windus Ltd. [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd.]. 1955. Pp. 176. $2.65.) Certainly Mrs. Haddakin has meant well, but her errors, since they are much more insidious than Hazlitt's, may well do her subject more harm.

She has set out to show, evidently to those who have not read much of Crabbe, "what kind of satisfaction is to be gained" from reading him, and

attempts to do so first by pointing out "the distinctive qualities of his work." Should these qualities not prove distinctive, however, the danger exists that the general reader, concluding that Crabbe has nothing unique to offer, will decide not to exert himself further. Consequently one feels uneasy about such a major pronouncment as this:

> . . . the material objects which appear in Crabbe's images of actuality contribute not only to the accuracy of the image but also to its emotional and moral comprehensiveness; [furthermore,] unless the individual passage is constantly seen in relation to the poem as a whole, it is impossible to discern either the tone of that passage or the gradation of tone effected in the complete poem. . . . our response to the individual sketch is influenced by its relation to earlier sketches. This may be called articulation by means of ambience.

Surely the choosing of details for their emotional connotation as well as their contribution to descriptive accuracy is not unique; nor for Crabbe alone do we have to read each part of a poem in relation to the other parts.

The second method by which Mrs. Haddakin seeks to entice the general reader into Crabbe is the revelation of what constitutes his "characteristic mode." The chief exhibit, of interest to the scholar as well, appears to be a frequent "uncoloured or neutral style," which avoids those words which might intrude an emotional filter between the reader and the scene being described. The principal illustration Mrs. Haddakin offers is a description of the interior of a Saintly Puritan home:

> Neat was their house; each table, chair, and stool,
> Stood in its place, or moving moved by rule;
> No lively print or picture graced the room;
> A plain brown paper lent its decent gloom. . . .

On entering the description, the reader admittedly finds *neat* either neutral or mildly approving, but almost immediately *or moving moved by rule*, because of its imitative mechanical balancing, hints at parody. *No lively print*, coming right after the dead mechanism of *moving*, adds ambiguity: *graced* adds promise of more. *A plain brown paper*, by calling to mind the Puritans' plain brown dress, adds irony, and *decent gloom* expands it, glancing back at the absent grace of the absent pictures. Immediately the pun in *graced* explodes: whatever was covert before is now manifest, and *neat* in retrospect clinches the ridicule. In short, such an aura flows from the description that the reader, unless he is violently prepossessed in favour of the Puritans, will inevitably enjoy Crabbe's playful Anglican satire, which is of course what Crabbe intended.

Nonetheless Mrs. Haddakin insists: "What [Crabbe] strives to avoid is presenting the object modified by any passion of his own; and it is largely his unparalleled care to strip his object of purely personal impressions and emotional hazes . . . that enables him to present what is paradoxically—for all its fidelity to nature—peculiarly his own world." Such a mode would indeed be both characteristic and distinctive, but reason has already appeared for doubting its existence. As Mrs. Haddakin later says: ". . . what the poet gives us is a selective arrangement of the various impressions made on him by people and scenes he has observed or heard about. . . . in his work as a

whole criticism accompanied description or narration." Since such criticism works through careful selection and equally careful arrangement (as Mrs. Haddakin also remarks) and, as we have seen, through a skilfully developed tone, it is accordingly rather difficult to agree with Mrs. Haddakin on one of her major conclusions, that "the reader's awareness of the medium in which Crabbe worked" is reduced "to the minimum."

Similarly it is difficult to agree that "throughout his poetic career Crabbe's chief aim was to please both himself and his readers," for while it is true that "except in his earlier work, *direct* moral or social instruction seldom forms a major part of Crabbe's purpose," that "earlier work" is half, and the better half, of his writing. Had Mrs. Haddakin referred to Crabbe's *Sermons*, she would have seen his constant concern for charity; indeed every poem he wrote up to and including *The Borough* reflects the same concern and the broader moral attitude—often expressed in an overtly didactic purpose—which it epitomizes. He described "the evils and miseries of our nature" because, as he remarked in the Preface to *The Borough*, the resulting mingled emotion of "pity and abhorrence . . . ties and binds us to all mankind by sensations common to us all, and in some degree connects us, without degradation, even to the most miserable and guilty of our fellow-men." The ensuing feeling of charity improves the character of the reader, and, if he is further moved to beneficent action, also improves the character and lot of those he helps.

This moral attitude and intent would have been evident to the readers of Mrs. Haddakin, too, had she continued one of her quotations. She does quote the couplet

> The stronger features of the soul to paint,
> And make distinct the latent and the faint,

as evidence of Crabbe's aim "to clarify nature," but omits the passage immediately following which illustrates admirably his further, ultimate aim of moral improvement through satire, an aim prompted by his charity:

> Man's Vice and Crime I combat as I can,
> But to his GOD and conscience leave the man. . . .
> I am to him a fellow, not a foe,—
> A fellow-sinner, who must rather dread
> The bolt, than hurl it at another's head. . . .
> Yet as I can, I point the powers of rhyme,
> And, sparing criminals, attack the crime.

This mingling of satire and charity *is* a characteristic of Crabbe, distinctive and appealing. For some reason it has been ignored.

The effect of ignoring it can be seen in Mrs. Haddakin's comments on "The Parish Clerk"(Letter XIX of *The Borough*), comments that epitomize the good and bad in her book. Admittedly there are useful remarks in *The Poetry of Crabbe*: some perceptive commentaries on individual passages, such as the landscape in *The Village*, and helpful observations. She points out, for instance, that Crabbe dramatized crucial stages in the development of his narratives, and that for the most part he imposed design on his

material though towards the end of his career he began to elicit it from the material. Similarly in her comments on "The Parish" she demonstrates the congruity of tone between the satiric first half and pathetic second, something that not all critics have been perceptive enough to do. But her conclusion misses the point and purpose of the tale. Crabbe, she says, carefully maintains a balance between "moral decorum" and "poetic decorum," between judgment and compassion. The reader pities, yet judges; judges, yet pities: and "the tale ends in one of Crabbe's impressive 'moral silences.'" Now, in this story of a man whose one sin, pride, by working on his poverty, leads him to further sin, Crabbe presents each stage in the temptation and fall with such comprehensive, credible detail that we are always aware of the fact that the Clerk is no worse than any of us, and better than most. Consequently at no time do we judge him; we are made to feel charity instead. And when Crabbe, with equally effective detail, describes the wasting penance of his stricken mind, we feel pity, great pity. What Crabbe achieves is not a balance between two attitudes or "decorums," but a fusion of pathos and charity, made eloquent in the closing description of the lonely death of a lonely man.

The general reader who accepts *The Poetry of Crabbe* is denied much of Crabbe, much of what is genuinely characteristic, distinctive, and valuable. But since the book is about Crabbe, and may lead some readers to the poet himself, we should at least welcome it.

W. KEITH THOMAS

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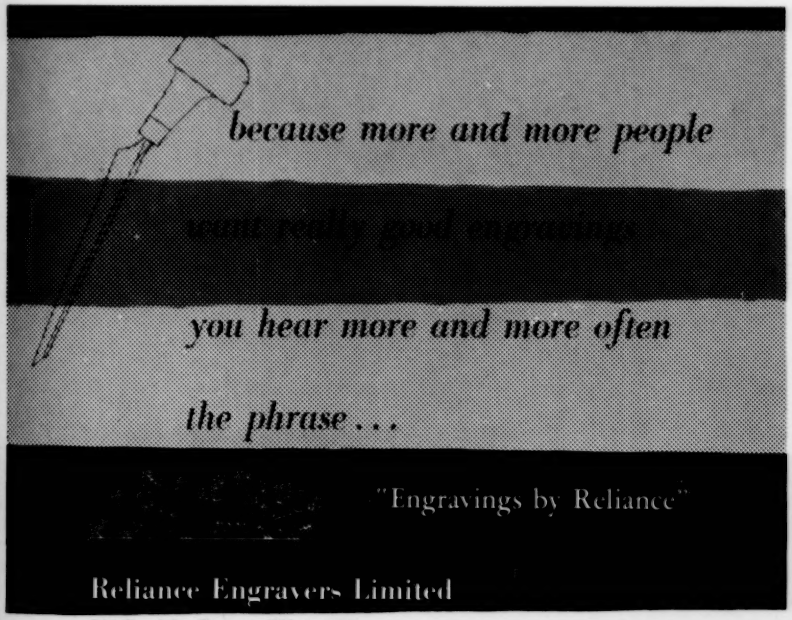
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